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AND

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OF THE

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AT SAINT HELENA

BY

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MY RESIDENCE

WITH

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON

AT ST. HELENA.

[I shall here insert all that I have remaining of the chapters on the army of Italy, to avoid separating them too far from those which precede them. They are so interesting that I much regret my having no more of them. It will even be seen that the chapter on Leoben is incomplete; it will however, be the more valuable, as I have reason to believe that it has not been preserved exactly in the same form; it will be curious to compare the first dictation with the complete work.]

BATTLE OF THE TAGLIAMENTO,*

From the passage of the Piave, March 13, 1797, to the entrance of the French Army into Germany, on the 28th of the same month.

I. *Situation of Italy at the commencement of* 1797.—*The peace of Tolentino had re-established our relations with Rome.* The court of Naples *was* satisfied with the moderation of the French,

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* All the words in Italics are corrections made in the original MSS. by Napoleon's own hand.

with respect to the Pope; in which it saw a proof that it was the intention of the republic not to interfere with its domestic affairs, or *to give any support to the discontented.* We were masters of the republic of Genoa; the oligarchical party in that state had lost all credit. The Cispadan and Transpadan republics were animated with the best spirit; they afforded us every kind of assistance. *In Piedmont,* the fortresses of Alessandria, Fenestrelles, Cherasco, *Coni, and Tortona,* were garrisoned by French troops. Suza, Labrunette, and Desmont had been demolished. Misery and discontent were at the highest pitch *amongst the people.* Insurrections against the court had been attempted in several provinces. The king of Sardinia had assembled his troops of the line to form an army to *suppress these disturbances.* The French General had done every thing possible *to maintain order and tranquillity in Piedmont;* he had often threatened to march his troops against *the malcontents,* but the communications *were* restored between France, Piedmont, and the Cispadan and Transpadan republics. *The spirit which prevailed in these republics spread into Piedmont.* The French officers and soldiers, *animated with republican principles, propagated them* throughout Italy. Circumstances were *become* such, that it was necessary, *for the success of the French general's plans,* either to destroy *the king of Sardinia,* or to relieve him from all anxiety,

and *repress the disaffected. The French General conceived the idea* of an offensive and defensive treaty with the court of Sardinia: it was signed by General Clarke and the Marquis of Saint Marsan. The republic guaranteed the king's crown; the King *declared war against Austria, and furnished a contingent of* 10,000 *men, and twenty pieces of cannon to the French army. This treaty was of great importance to the execution of the grand plan of the General-in-chief. His army was thus reinforced, and he had hostages with him who secured Piedmont to him during his absence from Italy.* But the Directory did not feel the importance of this treaty, and constantly adjourned its ratification. The publicity of the treaty, however, renewed the king's credit, and discouraged the malevolent. The state of Venice alone excited alarm. Brescia, Bergamo, the Polesine, and part of the Vicentine and Paduan, were perfectly well disposed to the French cause, but *the Austrian party which was that of the Venetian senate, had at its disposal the greater part of the Venetese, and twelve or* 15,000 *Sclavonians who were in Venice.* Every scheme that Napoleon could think of for smoothing the difficulties having failed, he was compelled to proceed, and to content himself with occupying the fortress of Verona, and leaving a corps of reserve, to watch the Venetian country, and secure his rear. In the following chapter will be seen the reasons which prevented

him from putting an end to the troubles of this republic previously to entering Germany.

II. *The Emperor of Germany refuses to acknowledge the French republic, or enter into negotiations. The French General prepares to force him to do so.*—Both before and after the taking of Mantua, several pacific overtures had been made to the court of Vienna: they all proved fruitless. General Clarke had been sent from Paris with a letter from the directory to the Emperor of Germany, and full powers to negotiate and conclude the preliminaries of peace. A conference had taken place at Vicenza, before the battle of Rivoli, between Clarke and Baron Saint Vincent, *the Emperor's aide-de-camp.* The latter said that his master did not acknowledge the French republic, and could not hear of making peace *without the concurrence of his ally, that is to say, of England.* After the taking of Mantua, Clarke made a second attempt. He repaired to Florence, and saw the Grand Duke; he obtained the same answer. The French General being now free from all apprehensions with respect to Italy, resolved to drive the Austrians beyond the Julian Alps, to pursue them on the Drave and the Muer, to pass the Simmering, and to force the Emperor of Austria to sign peace at Vienna. The project was vast; success appeared certain. The General-in-chief promised the *French* government to obtain peace in the course of the summer.

The army of Italy had never been so fine, so numerous, or in better condition. It was composed of eight divisions of infantry, and 6,000 cavalry; and had 150 pieces of cannon well horsed. These troops were well clothed, shod, fed, and paid; and consisted of veteran soldiers and excellent officers. They formed an army of 60,000 men, equal to any enterprize.

Since the taking of Mantua, the French army had directly menaced the hereditary states of the house of Austria; its advanced posts being on the frontiers. The French armies of the Rhine and the Sambre and Meuse, which had their winter quarters on the left bank of the Rhine, was separated from the army of Italy by a distance of more than 100 leagues, *by the states* of the Germanic body. The army of Italy was distant about 180 leagues from Vienna, and the armies of the Rhine and the Sambre and Meuse more than 200 leagues. The army of Italy, therefore, attracted all the attention of the court of Vienna. Prince Charles who had obtained some successes *on the Danube* in the preceding campaigns was sent to the Piave with a reinforcement of 40,000 men, the best troops of the monarchy.

The Austrian engineers had been examining all the *cols* and heights of the Noric Alps, projecting intrenchments, and drawing up plans for fortifying Gradisca, Clagenfurt, and Tarvis. But these

works could not be commenced until after the melting of the snow, which does not disappear in the Noric Alps before the end of March. It was, therefore, important to get the start of the enemy, before he could collect all his resources and intrench the gorges and difficult passes which were to be traversed. Napoleon resolved to be in Germany at the end of March.

III. *Plan of campaign of the French army for marching on Vienna.*—The Brenner is the most lofty summit of the Alps of the Tyrol; it is the geographical division between Germany and Italy. The Inn, the Adda, and the Adige, rise in this elevated chain of mountains; the Inn runs from south-west to north-east, for fifty leagues, in the Tyrol, at the back of the Brenner, towards the Danube, into which it falls, dividing Bavaria from Austria. The Adda, the sources of which are near those of the Inn, runs from north to south, and falls, after a course of eight leagues, into the lake of Como, on emerging from which it crosses Lombardy. The Adige, which has its source a few leagues from that of the Inn, runs from north to south for fifty leagues on the other declivity of the Brenner, enters Italy at Verona, whence it falls into the Adriatic, near the mouth of the Po. A great number of tributary streams run into the different rivers, and form clefts between perpendicular rocks, into which it is impossible to penetrate without being master of the

heights. It is the ruggedest and most difficult part of the Alps, as well as the most intersected and steepest.

There are only three great roads to Vienna from Italy: that of the Tyrol, that of Carinthia, and that of Carniola. The first crosses the upper chain of the Alps at the pass of the Brenner; the second at the pass of the Noric Alps, between Ponteba and Tarvis; the third at the pass of the Carniolan Alps, a few leagues from Laybach. According to the general law of the Alps, the pass of the Brenner is much more elevated than the pass of Tarvis; and the latter, than that of Laybach.

The road of the Tyrol commences at Verona; ascends the left bank of the Adige; passes Trent, Bolzano, Brixen; crosses the Brenner, 60 leagues from Verona; meets the Inn at Inspruck nine leagues and a half farther on; runs along by the Inn to half way between Rattemberg and Kufstein, whence, in the course of 34 leagues and a half it reaches Salzburg; from which place it runs 32 leagues, and passes Ens on the Danube, and thence runs 36 leagues to Vienna. This road, which bears the name of the Tyrolese road, runs, therefore, 171 leagues from Verona to Vienna.

The Carinthian road commences at Saint Daniele, crosses the chain of the Noric Alps, and enters Tarvis and Ponteba, in a course of 31 leagues; 24 leagues and a half from thence it passes the Drave at Villach; crosses Clagenfurt, the capital of Ca-

rinthia, 8 leagues from Villach; meets the Mur, which it follows to Jundeburg, 20 leagues and a half further, and goes on to Bruch, a distance of 12 leagues, in a serpentine direction. At Bruch the road leaves the Mur, and for 12 leagues ascends the Simmering, a mountain which divides the valley of the Danube from the valley of the Mur, and thence descends into the plain which leads to Vienna, a distance of only 20 leagues. It is, then, 97 leagues from the frontiers of Italy to Vienna; or from Saint Daniele, 127 leagues.

The road of Carniola begins at Goritz, reaches Laybach at the distance of 27 leagues, passes the Save, the Alps, and descends on the Drave, which it passes at Marburg, 30 leagues and a half from Laybach; thence it runs 4 leagues and a half to Ehrenhausen, where it meets the Mur; it runs along that river for 26 leagues to Bruch, passing Gratz, the capital of Styria; where it meets the Carinthian road; it is therefore 103 leagues from Goritz to Vienna, by the road of Carniola.

The Tyrolese road is joined to the Carinthian road by six transverse communications: 1st. a little above Brixen, a road called Puthersthal turns to the right, ascends one of the tributary streams of the Adige, passes on to Lienz and Spital, and ends at Villach, 46 leagues and a half from Brixen; 2dly. a road turns off from Salzburg which crosses Rastadt, meets the Puthersthal at Spital, and reaches Villach, 52 leagues from Salzburg; 3dly. from the

second cross-road, a road turns off, four leagues below Rastadt, which follows the Mur as far as Scheiffling, where it meets the Carinthian road; it is about 16 leagues in length; 4thly. a road from Lintz on the Danube, which passes the Ens near Rottenman, crosses high mountains, and descends on Judemburg; 5thly. from Ens on the Danube a road ascends the Ens for about 20 leagues, and descends on Leoben for about 8 leagues; 6thly. from the Danube by Saint Polten, there is a road to Bruch, which is about 24 leagues off.

The two roads of Carniola and Carinthia are united by three transverse roads: 1st. from Goritz, ascending the Isonzo for 10 leagues, you reach Caporetto, where is the road of Udine; 6 leagues higher you meet with the Austrian Chuisa; and finally, 5 leagues farther, with Tarvis, where this road joins that of Ponteba or Carinthia; 2dly. another road goes from Laybach, crosses the Save and the Drave, and in the course of 17 leagues reaches Clagenfurt; but this road is very difficult for artillery; 3dly. from Marburg, a road ascends the Drave, and in about 25 leagues reaches Clagenfurt, where it meets the Carinthian road; beyond Clagenfurt and Marburg, these two roads of Carinthia and Carniola run on parallel to each other, about 20 leagues apart, and have no cross communication practicable for waggons.

Napoleon's plan was to penetrate into Germany by the road of *Carinthia*, to cross Carniola and

Styria, and reach the Simmering; but Prince Charles *had two* armies, *one* in the Tyrol, and the other *behind* the Piave: it was therefore necessary to leave part of the army in observation against the army of the Tyrol. The French General preferred making the divisions of the Tyrol also act on the offensive, bringing them on to Brixen, and *directing them on Clagenfurt* by the Puthersthal road; whilst the principal corps of the army should advance on the Piave, cross the Tagliamento, debouch by the road of *Carinthia* on the Drave and Villach, where it would be joined by its wing of the Tyrol; and then the whole army would march in junction on the Simmering.

Three divisions forming a total of 15,000 men, under the command of General Joubert, were destined for the operation of the Tyrol; four under the command of the General-in-chief in person, amounting to 35,000 men, marched on the Tagliamento; the 8th, which was partly composed of the troops which had marched on Rome, was intended to form a corps of observation against Venice, and to secure the tranquillity of our rear. The generals of division Baraguey D'Hilliers and Delmas commanded in the Tyrol under Joubert; Generals Massena, Serrurier, Guyeux and Bernadotte, were at the head of the four divisions of infantry which marched on the Tagliamento; General Dagua commanded the cavalry. The armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuse were to pass the

Rhine and enter Germany, so as to arrive on the Lech *and the Danube* at the same time as the French army should reach the Simmering. The Piedmont division, 10,000 strong, had been reckoned upon, but the delay of the ratifications deprived the army of this important *reinforcement.*

IV. *Passage of the Piave, March 13th.* In the Tyrol, the whole of the month of February was passed in brisk skirmishes. The Austrians had appeared in force, and with great audacity, in that country. On the Piave, Prince Charles made several movements in order to take advantage of the separation *of part* of the French army which he supposed to be detached on Rome. General Guyeux thought himself menaced at Trevisa, and repassed the Brenta; but Prince Charles, *on receiving more accurate intelligence, and finding that the French General had advanced with only from four or five thousand men on Rome, halted.* Nothing took place, but a few skirmishes. The French headquarters were fixed at Bassano in the beginning of March.

The following proclamation was inserted in the order of the day:

" The taking of Mantua has just ended a campaign which has given you imperishable claims to the gratitude of your country.

" You have been victorious in fourteen pitched battles, and seventy other actions; you have made more than 100,000 prisoners, and taken from the

enemy 500 pieces of field artillery, 2,000 heavy guns, and four pontoon trains.

"The contributions laid on the countries which you have conquered, have fed, maintained and paid the army during the whole campaign; besides which, you have sent thirty millions of francs to the ministry of finances for the relief of the public treasury.

"You have enriched the Museum of Paris with more than 300 of the masterpieces of art of ancient and modern Italy, works for the production of which thirty centuries were requisite.

"You have conquered for the republic the finest countries of Europe. The Lombard and Transpadan republics are indebted to you for their liberty; the French flag now waves for the first time on the shores of the Adriatic, opposite ancient Macedon, and within 24 hours sail of her shores. The kings of Sardinia and Naples, the Pope, and the Duke of Parma, have abandoned the coalition of our enemies, and sought our friendship; you have driven the English from Leghorn, Genoa, and Corsica. But you have not yet finished; important deeds are still destined for you; it is in you that the nation reposes its dearest hopes; you will continue to be worthy of them.

"Out of so many enemies who combined to stifle the republic in its birth, the Emperor alone remains before us. This prince, basely stooping from the rank of a great power, has enlisted in the pay

of the merchants of London; he has no longer any will or policy but that of those perfidious islanders, who, being themselves strangers to the calamities of war, smile with satisfaction at the miseries of the continent.

"The Executive Directory has spared nothing to obtain peace for Europe; in the moderation of its proposals, no reliance on the strength of its armies was discoverable; it had not calculated on your courage, but on humanity, and the wish to allow you to return to your families. At Vienna it was not listened to: there are no hopes of obtaining peace but by going to seek it in the heart of the heriditary states of the house of Austria. You will there find a brave people overwhelmed by the war which they have lately had to sustain against the Turks, and by that in which we are engaged. The inhabitants of Vienna and of the Austrian states are groaning under the blind despotism of their government; there is not an individual amongst them who is not convinced that the gold of England has corrupted the Emperor's ministers. You will respect their religion and manners; you will protect their property; you will carry liberty to the brave Hungarian nation.

"The house of Austria, which has for three centuries continued to lose part of its power in each succeeding war; which alienates its people, by depriving them of their privileges; will find itself reduced, at the end of this sixth campaign (since it

compels us to make it) to accept such peace as we may think proper to grant, and to take up permanently that place amongst secondary powers, which it already fills by accepting the wages and submitting to the will of England.

(Signed) "BUONAPARTE."

The army was speedily in motion. It was necessary to pass the Piave, which was defended by Prince Charles's army, and to endeavour to gain the passes of Osopo and Ponteba before him. Massena, with his fine division, was selected for the accomplishment of this important object. He left Bassano, passed the Piave and the Tagliamento in the mountains, thus turning the whole of Prince Charles's army. *The latter detached* a division to oppose this manœuvre. Massena defeated and pursued it with great slaughter, taking many prisoners and some pieces of cannon. Amongst these prisoners was General de Lusignan, who had insulted the sick French, his countrymen, in the hospitals of Brescia, during the ephemeral success of Wurmser. Massena made himself master of Feltre, Cadore, and Belluno, driving the routed Austrian division before him, without suffering any considerable loss.

On the 12th the General-in-chief proceeded to Azolo, with Serrurier's division; passed the Piave at break of day, marched on Conegliano, where were the Austrian head quarters, thus turning all the Austrian divisions which defended the lower

Piave, and enabling General Guyeux to effect his passage at two o'clock in the afternoon at Ospadeletto. The river is pretty deep there, and might here required a bridge, but good will supplied the place of one. A drummer was the only person in danger, but was saved by a suttler's wife, who rescued him by swimming: the General-in-chief rewarded her by putting a gold chain round her neck. On the 12th the French General reached Conegliano, with the divisions of Serrurier and Guyeux. Bernadotte's division joined on the following day.

Prince Charles had chosen the plains of the Tagliamento for the field of battle, thinking them advantageous for the movements of his cavalry. His rear guard attempted to maintain itself at Sacile, but was beaten by General Guyeux, who entered that place on the 13th.

V. *Battle of the Tagliamento, 16th March.* On the 16th, at 9 in the morning, the two armies confronted each other; the French on the right and the Austrians on the left bank of the Tagliamento. The divisions of Guyeux, Serrurier, and Bernadotte, formed the left of the centre, and the right was before Valvasona, with head-quarters. Prince Charles, with nearly equal forces, was posted in a similar manner, opposite the French, on the right bank. By this position he did not cover the road of Pontcba. The remains of the division opposed to Massena were now unable to arrest his progress. Yet Pontcba was the shortest way to Vienna, and

the natural direction for covering that capital. This conduct on the part of Prince Charles could only be explained by supposing that he was not yet well acquainted with the new ground on which he was about to operate, and which had never been the theatre of war in modern times; or that he did not believe the French General bold enough to advance on Vienna, and had no anxiety but for Trieste, the centre of the naval establishments of Austria; or, finally, that his positions were not definitively taken, and that being covered by the Tagliamento, he hoped to gain a few days to allow a division of grenadiers, who had already reached Clagenfurth, to arrive and reinforce the division opposed to Massena.

The cannonade commenced on the two banks. The light cavalry made several charges on the sands of the torrent. The General in Chief seeing the enemy too well prepared, made his men pile their arms, and form the bivouacs. The Austrian General was deceived; he thought the French army, *which had marched all night*, was taking up a position; he fell back, and returned to his bivouacs. But two hours afterwards, when all was quiet in both camps, the French suddenly resumed their arms, and Duphot, at the head of the 27th light demi-brigade, forming Guyeux's vanguard, and Murat, at the head of the 15th light demi-brigade, leading Bernadotte's vanguard, each sustained by their divisions, each brigade forming a

line, and these lines supported by Serrurier, marching in the rear, in reserve, rushed into the river. The enemy had run to arms; but all our troops had passed the river in the finest order, and were drawn up in line of battle on the left bank. The fire of cannon and musketry became general. At the first report of cannon Massena effected his passage at Saint Daniele; he met with little resistance, and took Osopo, that key of the road of Ponteba, which the enemy had committed the error of neglecting. He thenceforth cut the Austrian army off from that road, separated the division opposed to him from the Austrian army, and pursued it to the bridge of Carasola, constantly driving it towards Carinthia. Prince Charles despaired of victory. After several hours fighting, and different charges of infantry and cavalry, he commenced his retreat, leaving us some cannon and prisoners.

VI. *Prince Charles's plan of retreat.* Prince Charles could no longer retreat towards Ponteba, *by the road of Saint Daniele and Osopo,* which Massena held in his possession. He determined to regain that road at Tarvis, with the greater part of his army, by Udine, Cividale, Caporetto, and the Austrian Chiusa. He ordered one of his divisions to his left, by Palma-Nuova, Gradisca, and Laybach, to cover Carniola.

But Massena was only two days march from Tarvis; and the Austrian army, by this new route, had five or six marches to make. Prince Charles,

therefore, compromised his army; he was sensible of it, and hastened, in person, to Clagenfurt, to press the march of a division of grenadiers which was there. *Massena himself had, however, lost two days; but having received orders to advance on Tarvis without hesitation, he there met with Prince Charles, with the wreck of the division which had been flying before him all the way from the Piave, and a fine division of Hungarian grenadiers.*

The action was brisk and obstinate on both sides. Each felt the importance of success; for if Massena should succeed in gaining possession of the debouché of Tarvis, the part of the Austrian army which Prince Charles had led into the vale of the Isonzo would be lost. Prince Charles ran the greatest personal risk, and was several times on the point of being taken by the French skirmishers. General Brune, who commanded a brigade of Massena's division, displayed the greatest valour. Prince Charles's troops were broken: he had made his very last reserves engage; he could operate no retreat. The remains of his troops proceeded beyond the Drave, to rally there. Massena being master of Tarvis, established himself there, *facing towards Villach and Goritz, and barring the debouchés of the Isonzo.*

VII. *Action of Gradisca. Taking of Laybach and Trieste.*—The day after the battle of the Tagliamento, the head quarters were moved to Palma-Nuova, a fortress belonging to the Venetians.

Prince Charles had caused it to be occupied, and had established his magazines there; but judging that he should be obliged to leave five or six thousand men to guard it, his garrison guns not having arrived, he resolved to evacuate it. We immediately fortified it, and secured it from a *coup de main*. On the following day, the 19th, we marched on the Isonzo.

General Bernadotte appeared before Gradisca, to pass the Isonzo there. He found the town shut, and was received with discharges of cannon. It was wished to parley with the commandant of the place, who refused. Napoleon then set out with Serrurier's division, took the road of Montefalcone, and marched as far as the point where the left bank of the river no longer commands the right. He was obliged to lose time in constructing a bridge; Colonel Andreossi, the director of bridges, was the first to throw himself into the river, to sound its depth; the columns followed his example, and passed, up to the middle in water, under the feeble fire of two battalions of Croats, who were soon put to flight. It was one o'clock in the afternoon; the troops turned to the left, and ascended the heights, traversing them as far as Gradisca, which they reached at five in the evening. Thus the place was surrounded and commanded. Serrurier's division had marched with the greater rapidity, because the firing of musketry was brisk on the right bank, where Bernadotte was already engaged.

This General had had the imprudence to attempt to carry the place by assault: he had been repulsed, and had, unnecessarily, lost four or five hundred men. This excessive ardour was excused by the desire the troops of the Sambre and Meuse had to signalize themselves, and by the noble emulation of reaching Gradisca before the old troops of Italy. When the Governor of Gradisca saw the Isonzo passed, and the heights covered with troops, he capitulated, and surrendered prisoner of war, *with several regiments and many pieces of cannon.* The head-quarters were removed on the following day to Goritz. Bernadotte's division was directed on Laybach. General Dugua, with 1000 cavalry, took possession of Trieste. Serrurier's division, from Goritz, reascended the Isonzo, to support General Guyeux, and to regain the road to Carinthia, at Tarvis. General Guyeux had marched from the field of battle of the Tagliamento, towards Udine and Cividal, and had entered the road of the Isonzo at Caporetto. He had had serious actions every day with Prince Charles's principal corps, which had taken the same road to reach Tarvis; he had killed or made prisoners great numbers of his troops. The Austrian General had left a rear guard on the Venetian Chiusa, and had proceeded to Tarvis, hoping that Prince Charles still occupied that place. But Massena had been two days there. He was attacked in front by Massena, and in the rear by

Guyeux. Not even the strong position of the Venetian Chiusa could resist the impetuous 4th of the line, who, with unparalleled rapidity climbed a mountain which commands the left of the Chiusa; and thus turning this important post, left the the enemy no resource but to lay down their arms. All their baggage, artillery stores, and colours were taken. Only 5000 prisoners were made, 10,000 having been killed or wounded in different engagements. *Since the battle of the Tagliamento*, 10,000 *soldiers, inhabitants* of Carniola or Croatia, seeing that *all was lost*, disbanded themselves in the passes, and sought their own villages one by one.

Head quarters were transferred successively to Caporetto, Tarvis, Villach, and Clagenfurt.

VIII. *Entrance into Germany. Passage of the Drave. Taking of Clagenfurt, March 29th.*— The province of Goritz, which is the first of the hereditary states of the house of Austria, borders on Italy. The inhabitants speak Italian. This province was organized without delay; the old castle of Goritz was fortified and garrisoned: a provisional government was composed of the seven most considerable persons, who were entrusted with the administration of the country. All measures were taken to tranquillize the minds of the inhabitants, and to alleviate the burthen unavoidably imposed on them by the garrison.

Similar measures were taken at Trieste, for

Istria. All English merchandize was confiscated; the old castle was repaired, to serve as a refuge for the little garrison which it was intended to leave there. The inhabitants were very favourably disposed towards the French.

Laybach is the capital of Carniola: a provisional government was established there on the same principles as at Goritz and Trieste. This city was put in a state of defence: it had a wall with bastions of very ancient design. The houses on the ramparts were destroyed.

In these countries situate near the Alps, the weather was still cold. The inhabitants, who had at first been terrified, had every reason to be satisfied with the French army, nor had the latter any cause of complaint against these people.

The inhabitants of the circle of Villach appeared amicably disposed towards the French; they supplied every thing necessary for the army with great readiness. We were in Germany; manners there were different; our soldiers had great reason to be pleased with the characteristic hospitality of the Germans. They procured a great quantity of horses and wagons, with greater ease than in Italy; and these were of great service.

The town of Clagenfurt, the capital of Carinthia, was also put in a state of defence; and a provisional government was organized there also. This town has a wall with bastions, but it had been neglected for centuries, and was of no use but for the

police of the city. The houses which covered the ramparts being pulled down, these fortifications became a point of appui for the army.

General Dugua, at Trieste, confiscated all the stores belonging to the English or Austrians; they were considerable, and of all descriptions. Possession was likewise taken of the mines of Idria; quicksilver to the value of several millions of francs was found there, which was forthwith dispatched to Palma-Nuova.

On entering into Carinthia the following proclamation had been published:

"The French army does not come into your country to conquer it, or to enforce any alteration in your religion, manners, or customs. It is the friend of all nations, and particularly of the brave people of Germany.

"The Executive Directory of the French Republic has spared no endeavour to put an end to the calamities which afflict the continent; it had determined to make the first advance, and to send General Clarke to Vienna, as a Plenipotentiary, to commence negociatiations for peace. But the court of Vienna refused to listen to it; and even declared, at Vicenza, through the medium of M. de St. Vincent, that it did not acknowledge the French Republic. General Clarke demanded a passport, in order to address himself to the Emperor in person; but the ministers of the court of Vienna were justly apprehensive that the moderation of the pro-

posals he was instructed to offer might determine the Emperor to make peace. Those ministers, corrupted by English gold, betray Germany and their prince, and have no other will than that of those treacherous islanders whom all Europe abhors.

"Inhabitants of Carinthia, I know that you detest, as much as we do, both the English, who are the only gainers by the present war, and your ministry which is sold to them. If we have been six years at war, it has been against the will of the brave Hungarians, of the enlightened citizens of Vienna, and of the honest unsophisticated inhabitants of Carinthia.

"Well! in spite of England and of the ministers of the court of Vienna, let us be friends. The French Republic has the rights of conquest over you; let them be annulled by a contract of mutual obligation. You will not interfere in a war carried on contrary to your inclinations. You will furnish the provisions of which we may stand in need. On my side, I will protect your religion, manners, and property; I shall require no contribution of you; is not war in itself sufficiently horrible? Have you not suffered enough already, innocent victims of the folly of others? All the taxes you are accustomed to pay the Emperor, will serve to indemnify you for the damage inseparable from the march of an army, and to pay for the provisions you may furnish us with."

IX. *Affairs of the Tyrol.*—Immediately after

the battle of the Tagliamento, the French General sent orders to General Joubert to attack the army opposed to him, to take possession of all the Italian Tyrol, to execute boldly the march which he had prescribed to him, and to penetrate into Carinthia by the Pustherstha.

General Joubert commenced his operations on the 28th of March, passed the Avisio, defeated the enemy, *took several thousand prisoners, passed the Adige, defeated the enemy at Tramin*, took Bolzano, engaged again at Clausen, forced the passes of *Inspruck on the 28th, repulsed the Austrian troops beyond the Brenner*, and directed his march into Carinthia, after having caused the enemy great loss, and taken 7 or 8,000 of his men. General Joubert shewed much talent, constancy, and activity, in the conduct of this difficult operation. *Generals Delmas, Baraguey d'Hilliers, and Dumas, distinguished themselves. The troops evinced the greatest intrepidity.*

X. *Recapitulation.*—Thus, in seventeen days, the two armies of Prince Charles had been defeated. The enemy, repulsed beyond the Brenner, had evacuated the Tyrol, after having suffered very considerable losses. Austria had lost Palma-Nuova, a very strong fortress, as well as Trieste and Fiume, the only ports of the Austrian monarchy; the province of Goritz, Istria, Carniola, and Carinthia were conquered; the Save, the Drave, and the Noric Alps had been passed. The army was

now only sixty leagues from Vienna. It entertained well founded hopes of arriving there before the end of May.

The Austrian army, disheartened and ruined, could no longer contend with the French army which had not suffered any material loss, and whose resolution and consciousness of superiority were inexpressibly great.

AFFAIRS OF VENICE.

I. *Description of Venice.* — The Republic of Venice, at the period of the French revolution, was the most considerable of the Italian states. In population it was inferior to the kingdom of Naples; but Venice had greatly the superiority in the strength of its government and the advantages of its position. The seat of government was a fortified city, unassailable by land or sea. *Independently of its land forces, it had a squadron which ruled the Adriatic, and caused it to be respected by the whole of the Levant. This city was founded in the fifth century by inhabitants of Friuli and the Paduan district, who fled to the Lagunes to seek shelter from the oppression of barbarians.* Their descendants constantly *maintained themselves independent* of the rulers of Italy.

That fine Peninsula, the prey of revolutions, frequently changed masters. Venice alone, always free and independent, has never acknowledged foreign authority.

Venice is the best situated city and port for commerce of all Italy. All the merchandize of Constantinople and the Levant comes there directly by the shortest road, the Adriatic; thence it spreads

as far as Turin by means of the Po, and throughout Germany by ascending the Adige to the neighbourhood of Botzen, whence it finds roads to Augsburg and Nuremburg. Venice is situated near the mouth of the Po and that of the Adige. It is the port of both these rivers. In another direction it commmunicates by canals with Bologna, so that all the productions *of the great plain of Italy flow through Venice: this city is the nearest sea-port to Augsburg and Munich.*

Nature has made Venice the mart of exchange for the Levant, Italy and southern Germany. Before the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, this city had the trade of the Indies by A[illegible] and the Red Sea. For this reason she made a strong opposition to the operations of the Portuguese. She equipped a considerable fleet in the Red Sea; she established an arsenal, places for taking in water, and magazines near Suez. The remains of them are still to be seen at the fountains of Moses. The Portuguese conquered these fleets, formed at a great expense, and the Venetians, overcome, were compelled to abandon all attempts to stop their success in discovery and in commerce.

The Lagunes, which are formed by the waters of the Piave and the Brenta, communicate with the sea by three passages.

The sovereignty of Venice was vested in the aristocracy of some hundreds of families inscribed in the Golden Book. Their subjects comprehended

a population of from three to four millions, extending round Venice in the richest and most fertile regions in the world; *viz.* those of Bergamo, Brescia, Vicenza, Verona, Padua, Polesino, Treviso, Bassano, Cadore, Belluno, and Friuli, on the main-land of Italy; Istria and Dalmatia on the shores of the Adriatic and the Ionian islands, scattered at its mouth. These main-land provinces are bounded on the north by the upper ridge of the Julian and Tyrolese Alps, from the source of the Adda to that of the Isonzo. This chain of mountains, almost every where impassable, separates them from Germany, with which they have no communication but by the three roads which skirt the Adige, the Tagliamento, and the Ionzo. The vallies of the Adige, the Brenta, the Piave, the Tagliamento, and the Isonzo, belonged in their whole extent to this republic. Its navy consisted of a dozen large ships, as many frigates and small vessels which were sufficient to command the respect of the Barbary states, to rule the Adriatic, and defend its Lagunes. Venice could set on foot 50,000 men, composed of Italian regiments recruited in the main-land, or of Sclavonians, a brave race and *in all ages* devoted to the republic; of these she could raise from ten to fifteen thousand foot, and four or five thousand horse; their horses are small but useful. These Sclavonians were the troops in whom the Senate placed confidence: they had the very great advantage of being

strangers to the language and the manners of the main-land.

The city of Venice was very rich, and although its commerce was diminished, it was not destroyed. The families in the golden book alone had any share in the government, they filled the Senate, the Councils, the Assemblies of Forty, and other magistracies; which excluded the nobility of the *terra firma.* Among the latter were a great number of wealthy, illustrious and powerful families, which, being subjected and deprived of all power, existed without credit or influence, and greatly envied the sovereign nobility of Venice.

These nobles of the Terra-firma were partly descended from the ancient *condottieri*, the podestas of old, or other persons who had formerly acted a distinguished part in the republics of their cities, and whose ancestors after having long opposed the enterprizes of the Venetians, had fallen victims to the policy of their republic. Thus traditional enmity, studiously cherished, was added to the hatred created by the nature of the government. *The greater part* of the people made common cause with the nobility of the *terra firma*; there was, however, a portion of them attached to the noble Venetians who had estates and establishments in almost all the provinces. The priests were destitute of credit or consideration in the republic, which had, at an early period, freed itself from all papal influence.

The interest of the head of the house of Austria, who possessed Milan and Mantua in Italy, and a portion of Istria on the Adriatic, was in many respects connected with Venice, which had constant reason to be apprehensive of that monarch, and had always maintained itself against him, by the balance of power in Europe, and especially by the protection of France.

To pass from the Tyrol to Mantua through Lombardy, it is necessary to cross the Venetian territory, from Rivoli to Mantua, being nearly two days march. A military road was secured to Austria by treaties; but the troops were obliged to pass it disarmed, and in small detachments. No other military road was allowed across the country from the Adige to the Isonzo. In the preceding wars in Italy, Austria was obliged to effect the communications of its army by sea, from Trieste to the Po, as convoys could only pass Friuli, and the states of the *terra firma* between Rivoli and Mantua. This gave rise to the cruise of the Chevalier de Forbin, under Louis XIV. who intercepted the communications by sea, from Trieste to the Po.

When the first coalition against France was formed, the allied powers invited this republic to engage in it. It does not appear that any serious discussions arose in the council on this occasion; the members were unanimous. They were so far from the scene of action that they looked upon themselves as unconcerned in these affairs, and

wished to remain neutral. When the Count de Lille chose Verona for his abode, Venice did not allow him to reside there until they obtained the consent of the Committee of Public Safety, which was better satisfied that the pretender should be at Verona than at any other place.

When the French troops, in 1794, marched towards Oneglia, and fixed their camp at Savona, Italy was considered to be threatened with invasion, and several powers assembled in congress at Milan. Venice refused to appear there, not because she disapproved of French principles, but because she was fearful of yielding herself up to the mercy of Austria. Besides, the danger appeared to her very remote.

II. *Opinions in the Senate: the first is that of the friends of Austria; the second of the old senators; the third, of the friends of France.*—But when Napoleon arrived at Milan, (and Beaulieu flying in consternation behind the Mincio, entered Peschiera, and there stationed his right, in hopes of defending the Mincio,) great perplexity and alarm prevailed in the republic. The immense space which had previously separated Venice from the struggle between democracy and aristocracy, had been overrun. The war of principles as well as that of artillery, raged in the bosom of the state. Animated and violent discussions took place in the senate, in which opinions were divided between three parties. Pezzaro and the younger senators, *parti-*

sans of Austria, wished the senate to declare against France. They desired neutrality, but an armed neutrality; wishing strong garrisons to be placed in Peschiera, Brescia, Bergamo, Porto-Legnago and Verona, and that those places should be declared fortresses. They recommended that 50,000 men should be raised; that the canals should be expeditiously put in a state of defence; that gun boats should be fitted out upon them; that a squadron should be prepared to guard the Adriatic; and that in this formidable attitude, war should be declared against the first who should *thereafter* violate the Venetian territory. Those who held this opinion, maintained, that if the last hour was come, it was better to die sword in hand than shamefully; that by defending the territory, French ideas would be prevented from infecting the principal cities; that the more formidable the attitude assumed by the state, the greater the respect it would obtain from both the hostile parties; that if, on the contrary, the gates should be peaceably opened, and the French suffered to enter the great cities of the *terra firma*, then the war between the two great powers would be established in the territory of the republic; and from that moment its sovereignty would be lost. That the first duty of the prince is to protect his subjects; but how could they be protected if the theatre of war were suffered to be established in their dominions? The fields would be ravaged and the towns burnt by both parties suc-

massively. The unfortunate people would then lose all esteem and respect for the authority which abandoned them. The germes of discontent and jealousy which already existed would ferment with violence; the republic would expire without even deserving the regret of history.

The advice to which all the old senators adhered, was *to take no decisive part*. They confessed that all the dangers were real; that the ambition of Austria and the principles of France were both equally to be dreaded; but that fortunately these evils were transitory. That all the calamities that were apprehended might be avoided by discretion, caution, and patience. That the French were of a conciliating disposition, easily won by caresses; that with friendly treatment, and able governors keeping great household establishments, and having funds at their disposal for secret expenses, the minds of their leaders might be influenced, and their good will secured. *That to declare an armed neutrality for the future was to declare war against France.* That the gates which had been opened to their enemies could not be closed against them without furnishing them with just grounds of war. Could any one, then, seriously think of resisting them with a few thousand Sclavonians? The republic could not rely on the Brescian or Bergomasque countries, which would rebel at the very first outset; and that if it came to fighting, the French would immediately find, in their partisans

of the *terra firma*, a counterpoise to the levies which the republic might bring against them from Dalmatia. That the existing evils were, undoubtedly great; the crisis dangerous; but the danger by no means so imminent as represented by enthusiastic imaginations. The republic had rode out much more terrible storms, the great object was to gain time; on that wise principle their ancestors had preserved the state. Happily providence had established their capital *in an impregnable city. That all the efforts of the republic ought to be exclusively directed to the strengthening of that city; and that patience, moderation, and time, must be relied on in all other respects.*

A third opinion which was ascribed to the proveditore Bataglia, found support in the assembly. The existence of the republic, said he, is actually in danger. On one side it is attacked by the French principles, subversive of our constitution; on the other by Austria, hostile to our independance. Of these two inevitable evils, let us choose the last. The worst, in my opinion, is slavery to Austria. Let us increase the Golden Book, and inscribe in it such of the nobility of the *terra firma* as deserve it; from that moment there will be no more divisions, no more opposition amongst us. Let us garrison our fortresses, fit out our fleets, and raise 50,000 men; then meet the French General, and offer him an offensive and defensive alliance. That will, perhaps, lead to some altera-

tions in our constitution; but we shall preserve our independence and our liberty. Is it the first time that the Golden Book has been augmented? An armed neutrality against both parties has been talked of. Two years ago, when the storm began, this would have been the most eligible course. It was just, because it was equal towards both the belligerent parties; it would have been practicable, because there would have been time to prepare for it. If you were now to proclaim it, you would be declaring war *against France. You cannot deny the French what you have permitted or tolerated in the Austrians. Can it be proposed to to you to go to war with the French army, which is victorious, and may be at your gates in a week, while you have not even any treaty existing with Austria; and even were there one, that power* could not render you any assistance for two months. What would become of the republic in two months, with an enemy so enterprising and active? The second plan which is proposed, that of patience and time, is as bad as the first. Political circumstances are not now the same; times are greatly altered; the present crisis does not resemble any of those over which the old republic has formerly triumphed: we cannot learn from the example of our ancestors. The French principles are in all men's heads, they spread in all directions: they are an inundating torrent which it would be in vain to hope to stop by the dykes of patience, moderation, and fawning. The

French partly exists in all the provinces. The measure I propose to you is the only one which can save you: it is plain, noble, and generous; I repeat it; *Let us meet the French General, and conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with him.* Austria will then be too weak to cause us any apprehensions of becoming her prey. *We may contribute effectually* to the success of the French; we may reinforce them *with* 25,000 *men, keeping at the same time, as many as we need for Venice, and assisting them, besides,* with our influence over public opinion, and with our local advantages; that will all be very easy, because *all the parties which now divide the state* will be united in their progress and their objects. Our independence will be secured; we shall save the great foundations of our constitution. The French, reinforced by us, will immediately take possession of Mantua, and thus carry the war beyond our boundaries. If, notwithstanding our assistance, the French should be defeated, and *obliged to repass the Adda,* we could defend ourselves against Austria. Austria has no party in our territories; at Brescia and Bergamo there is no man who would not willingly take up arms to avoid being an Austrian subject: *the weight of France,* and the interest of England and Switzerland would save us.

This advice inflamed the passions of all parties; it made an impression on all men of understanding; but succeeded with very *few of the Senators.* How

could they think of diminishing their privileges? Family and personal interest prevailed over the good of the nation. This resolution was too great for a degenerate race incapable of any grand ideas. Accordingly, it was neither Napoleon's invasion of Italy, nor the French principles, which ruined Venice; but the conduct of its government, and the stupefaction of those who composed it. As it often happens on great occasions, they adopted the worst measure possible, relying chiefly on chance and providence.

III. *Conduct of the Proveditores, Mocenigo, Foscarelli, and Bataglia.* The Proveditore Mocenigo, according to his instructions, received the General-in-chief at Brescia, in a magnificent manner. There was nothing but sumptuous carriages, grand entertainments, and splendid banquets. Never had France possessed better friends than the Venetians; every noble wished to become the particular friend of the French General. On the other hand, these entertainments to which all the nobility of the country was invited, promoted the connexions of the French officers with the principal families; none of them could hesitate to invite to their house the generals and officers with whom they had become acquainted at the Proveditore's.

The Proveditore Foscarelli acted in the same manner at Verona; he gave entertainments too; but being of an unbending character, he could not dissemble his real sentiments; he was one of the

most hostile to France amongst the Senators. He could not complain of the entrance of the French into Peschiera, because Beaulieu had gone before them; but when he was asked for the keys of the arsenal, to line the ramparts, and when preparations were made for arming the gallies, Foscarelli complained that the French General was violating the neutrality of the republic. Beaulieu had, it was allowed, entered the fortifications of Peschiera; he had even fired cannon on the French from its ramparts; but then it was with his own guns!!! When the French General arrived at Peschiera, Foscarelli waited on him to endeavour to dissuade him from coming to Verona, as he had announced his intention of doing, threatening to shut the gates and defend them with his cannon. "It is too late," said the French General, taking out his watch. "My troops have entered by this time. I am obliged to establish a defence on the Adige, during the siege of Mantua. It is not with 1500 Sclavonians that you can secure me, and oppose the passage of the Austrian army. If you could, why have you not done it? Neutrality consists in having the same weight and measure for every one. If you are friends to the French, you cannot possibly refuse them what you have allowed, or at least tolerated in their enemies."

When the keys of the armories and powder-magazines were demanded for the purpose of arming Verona, and when it became necessary to de-

molish a few toll-houses for the purpose of forming a demi-lune before Verona, on the Vicenza road, Foscarelli, in the utmost agitation, demanded an audience of the French General, and talked to him a long time, about the violation of the sovereignty of the republic. These various discussions reported to the Senate, convinced it that Foscarelli did not possess the precise qualities adapted to the circumstances. Conceiving that Bataglia would be more agreeable to Napoleon, they sent him as Proveditore-General of all the provinces beyond the Adige. He was a complaisant well-informed man, of conciliating manners, sincerely attached to the republic of Venice, enthusiastic towards France as it was in former times, and preferring even republican France to Austria. By degrees the theatre of war extended itself over the whole of the Venetian possessions; but it was always the Austrians who first entered new territories. *Beaulieu first occupied Peschiera and Verona.* Wurmser first threw himself into Bassano, and first crossed Vicenza and Padua; Alvinzi and the Archduke Charles were at a subsequent period the first to occupy Friuli, Palma-Nuova, and as far as the most easterly limits of the republic.

IV. *Factions at Brescia, Bergamo, and Verona.* In the mean time great agitation prevailed throughout the *terra firma*; and discontent gained ground rapidly. To the natural causes of disaffection inherent in the constitution of Venice, were now

added others arising from the intercourse of the people with the French, the attractiveness of their new opinions, and the admiration excited by their victories over Wurmser, and their successes obtained against Alvinzi. Italy was generally regarded as lost to Austria, and it was thought that the expulsion of the Austrians must be followed by the fall of the aristocracy. The French General constantly endeavoured to moderate these sentiments. When he returned from Tolentino, solely engaged in his scheme of marching on Vienna, he applied his whole attention to the prevention of the troubles which might take place during his absence from Italy. The Venetian States caused him much uneasiness; irritation had constantly kept increasing in that quarter. Brescia and Bergamo had nearly effected a revolution. The Fenaroli, the Martinengue, the Lecchi, the Alexandri, were at the head of these commotions, and constituted the first and richest families. These two cities exercised a sort of independent government, under the name of municipality; they received and disposed of the public money, and appointed to offices. If the Lion of St. Mark was still seen there, it was rather out of deference to the will of the French General, than an act of submission to the sovereignty of Venice. Nothing was heard but severe and violent declamations against the Venetian nobility, both in conversation and through the medium of the press. The injustice of their

sovereignty was warmly protested against on all sides. "What right has Venice," said the people, "to govern our cities? Are we less brave, enlightened, or wealthy than the Venetians? When several provinces acknowledge a monarch who resides in the capital, it is easily accounted for; because the provinces and the capital are equal in his eyes, are all subject to the same laws, and entitled to the same privileges. But for the Venetian nobility to arrogate to themselves exclusive sovereignty over us, who are in every respect their equals, is a monstrous, insupportable, and revolting absurdity."

On the other hand, the pride of the Senators was highly offended at seeing subjects, who had for centuries submitted to the sway of their ancestors, forget the immense distance by which they were separated. They omitted no exertion to oblige them to return to their duty. They increased their Sclavonian levies, threatened the insurgents with the successes of the Austrians, called them jacobins, and spread the most alarming reports respecting the French. Every thing proclaimed the approach of a violent shock.

Bataglia, in his despatches to the Senate, softened the outrages of the Brescians; and mitigated the rage and fury of the Senate in the eyes of the latter. Always conciliating, he never ceased, in his numerous communications with the French General, to endeavour to interest him for the republic. He

was, however, too enlightened, not to perceive that it was impossible to pacify such violently conflicting passions in an amicable manner.

V. *Difficulties attending the Venetian affairs.*—The French General long meditated on the state of affairs. It seemed to him impossible thus to leave in his rear three millions of persons abandoned to disorder and anarchy. He had no more influence over the friends of France, than over the Senate itself; he might, indeed, prevent their *taking particular steps*, but he could not hinder them from talking, writing, and personally irritating the Senate in a multitude of *details of administration* to which he was a stranger. It was, however, necessary to decide on a line of conduct. To disarm the people of Brescia and Bergamo, to declare himself entirely for the Senate, and proscribe all innovators, would have been to alienate the popular party, without securing the attachment of the Senate. And if this atrocious policy could have entered the mind of the French General, its result would infallibly have been, as under Louis XII, the eventual union of the whole population against him. To induce the Senate to form an alliance with France, modifying its constitution, and conciliating the people of the *terra firma*, would doubtless have been the best course: and the French General had accordingly done all in his power to induce them to adopt it. Whenever he *gained* a victory, he renewed this proposal, but it was always unsuccessful. *A third*

course was practicable: to march upon Venice, seize that capital, and there effect by force the necessary political alteration, by modifying its laws, and giving the predominance to the partisans of France. This was the true way of cutting the knot which could not be untied. But when, after resolving on this scheme, it became necessary to fix the time for carrying it into execution, he found it impossible to adapt it to circumstances, and to his grand project on Vienna.

He could not march upon Venice, so long as Prince Charles should be on the Piave, it was therefore necessary to begin with defeating him, and driving him out of Italy. But when this great success should be obtained, would it then be eligible to relinquish the fruits of victory? Would it be right to delay the passage of the mountains, for the purpose of bringing the war to the neighbourhood of Venice? This would be giving Prince Charles time to recover, to reconnoitre, obtain reinforcements, and create new difficulties. Venice could not be attacked without Prince Charles being previously defeated, since he covered that city; *and it ought not to be attacked after his defeat, because time would then be too precious, and it would be proper to pursue him to Vienna.* Venice was very strong; it was defended by its lakes, and a great number of armed vessels, while 15,000 Sclavonians formed its garrison. Being mistress of the Adriatic, Venice might receive additional troops; and her

walls inclosed the moral strength of all those sovereign families which were about to fight for their political existence. Who could estimate the value of the time which our troops might consume in this new enterprise? and if the struggle should be prolonged, what effect might not such a resistance produce on the rest of Italy? Nor did this new war want for opposition at Paris. Venice had a very active minister there; the councils were opposed to the directory; the directory itself was much divided. Napoleon knew, that if he consulted the directory respecting the enterprise on Venice, *they would not answer, or would avoid the question.* If he should act of his own accord, as he had hitherto done, without asking for any authority, he was certain, should he fail of immediate success, to be reproached with a violation of all principles. As a General-in-chief, he had only a right to repel force by force; a new war against an independent power could not be commenced without orders from his government; it would have been incurring the guilt of usurping the rights of sovereignty.

Thus the *decisive* step of *declaring war against Venice,* could not be taken: 1st. Because the General had no right to do so: 2dly. Because it was incompatible with the plan *of carrying the war into Germany without delay.* The episode *of Venice* might become a principal affair, which would cause the failure of the *grand affair* of Vienna; it was, therefore, necessary to determine on simple military

precautions, as far as regarded the Venetians. Brescia and Bergamo were sure, as well as all the countries on the right bank of the Adige; the French troops occupied the citadels of those two cities. Verona, which was less favourably disposed towards us, was kept in awe, not only by its castles, which were well provisioned, but also by the old palace on the right bank, which, being put in a state of defence, became an actual citadel in the midst of the town, and rendered its possessors absolute masters of one of the three stone bridges. All the troops which *had been employed* in the expedition against the pope, were destined to form a reserve, which should be stationed about Verona, ready to proceed to any point where they might be required.

VI. *Conference with Pezzaro.*—At the instant of the opening of the new campaign, Napoleon, who was more anxious than ever on account of the progress of affairs at Venice, having a presentiment of some secret machinations on the part of the Senate, resolved to make another effort towards a negotiation, and desired to have an interview with Pezzaro, *the head of the Austrian party*, who at that moment conducted all the affairs of the republic. Pezzaro described the critical state of the republic, the bad disposition of the people, the legitimate complaints against *Brescia and Bergamo, and their partisans in the other provinces* of the *terra firma*. He said that difficult circumstances obliged the Senate to resort to strong mea-

mures, and to extraordinary armaments, which ought not to give any umbrage to the French General; that the Senate was under the necessity of making arrests in Venice and the *terra firma*, and that it would be unjust to regard those steps as rigorous proceedings on the part of the Senate against the partisans of France, when they were, in fact, only the just punishment of turbulent citizens, who wanted to overthrow the laws of their country. The French General did not dispute the critical situation of Venice; but without wasting his time in discussing the causes of those difficulties, he came fairly to the point: "You wish to arrest those whom you call your enemies, and whom we call our friends; you nominate to official situations, persons who are notorious for their hatred of us, and their connections with the Austrians; your troops increase; they are marching they say against the jacobins. *What more remains for you to do, to be openly at war with us?* A war against France, would be your total and immediate ruin; in vain would you reckon upon Prince Charles; your calculation would be erroneous, I shall beat him and drive him out of Italy, in less than eight days. There is one way to get out of the disagreeable situation we are in. I am willing to put an end to your sufferings, I offer you the alliance of the republic; I will secure you all your estates in the *terra firma*, not excepting your authority in Brescia and Bergamo. *You shall declare war against Austria, and give me* 10,000

men as a contingent. I think it would be right to enter the principal families of the terra firma in the Golden Book; but I do not make it a condition sine quâ non. Return to Venice; get the Senate to deliberate, and come and sign a treaty which alone can save your country, and secure an amicable understanding between us. Pezzaro had gone a great length; he wanted to gain time; he confessed the wisdom of the plan, and departed for Venice, promising to return in less than a fortnight.

During this interval, many events took place. On the 13th of March the French army passed the Piave. As soon as Pezzaro was informed of this, he dispatched orders to Bergamo to arrest fourteen of the principal inhabitants, and bring them before the Council of Ten. These inhabitants were the leaders of the patriotic party; they got intelligence of what was intended from a clerk at Venice attached to their party, intercepted the courier who was the bearer of the order, arrested the proveditore himself, and proclaimed the liberty of Bergamo on the 14th of March. They sent deputies to the French General, to inform him of these events, who did not overtake him until they arrived at the field of the battle of the Tagliamento. This intelligence was extremely unwelcome to him, but there was no remedy. The people of Bergamo had already entered into a confederacy with Milan, the capital of the republic of Lombardy, and with Bologna, the capital of the Transpadan republic.

A similar revolution took place, a few days after, at Salo and Brescia. The 2,000 Sclavonians who were in the latter town were disarmed; the proveditore Bataglia was respected, but sent back to Verona. Pezzaro returned according to his promise; he rejoined the French General at Palma-Nuova. Prince Charles had been defeated on the Tagliamento, Palma-Nuova had opened its gates, and the French flag waved at Tarvis, beyond the Izonzo, on the summit of the Noric Alps.

"Have I kept my word?" said Napoleon, "The Venetian territory is covered with my troops; the Germans are flying before me; I shall be in Germany in a few days. What does your republic desire? I have offered her the alliance of France; does she accept it?"—"No," said Pezzaro, "Venice rejoices in your triumphs; she knows well that she can only exist by means of France; but constant to her ancient wise policy, she wishes to remain neutral. Besides, what good could we do you? Under Louis XII. or Francis I. we were of some weight in the scale of battle; but now, with such immense armies, with whole populations under arms, *what value can you set on our assistance?*" "But do you still continue your armaments?"—"We must do so," said Pezzaro. "Brescia and Bergamo have raised the standard of rebellion. Our faithful subjects are threatened, at Crema, Chiari, and Verona; Venice itself is disturbed!"—"Well," replied the French General, "Are not these addi-

tional reasons for accepting the proposals I have made you. They would put an end to all these troubles. But your fate hurries you on; reflect, however; it is a more decisive moment for your republic than you think. I leave a greater force in Italy, than would suffice to subject you; I am quitting Italy to penetrate deep into Germany; if there should be troubles in my rear, through your fault,—if my soldiers should be insulted through your exciting yours *against the jacobins;* that which will have been no crime while I remained in Italy, will be an unpardonable one when I am in Germany; your republic would cease to exist; you would have pronounced its condemnation. *If I have reason to complain of you, whether I am victorious or defeated, I will make peace at your expense.*" Pezzaro of course made many protestations and excuses, and then took his leave.

The proposals of the French General had been warmly discussed in the Senate and rejected. "What would be the end of such an alliance?" it had been said. "The loss of our 10,000 Sclavonians. At the first battle, on the first victory, we should no longer possess them. Napoleon would give them honours and rewards; he would infallibly draw them away by that magic which always chains the soldier to the general who leads him to victory." They *decreed,* accordingly, the alliance with Austria, and sent instructions to their envoy *at Vienna to conclude* the treaty, notwithstanding

the defeat of Prince Charles. Thus did this ancient republic run blindly to its ruin, and become the dupe of the treacherous and machiavelian policy of Vienna.

VII. *Insurrection at Venice; Massacre of the French at Verona.* Laudon, commander of the Tyrolese levy which had retreated to Inspruck, before Joubert, no sooner found that General entered into the Puthersthal, than he returned into the Tyrol, to continue the organization of his insurrection, and to follow the small French corps of observation which was retiring on the debouchés of Italy, to protect Verona. Laudon had few troops; almost all those which had been opposed to Joubert had received orders to file off as quickly as possible to join Prince Charles. This movement in the Tyrol was, therefore, of little importance. It had been expected by Napoleon, but he had thought it of the utmost importance to have all his troops at hand.

Laudon, with the activity and address of a true partisan, inundated the country with proclamations and news; he spread reports that the armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuse had been annihilated in attempting to repass the Rhine; that the Tyrol had been the tomb of the French; and that Joubert's army had perished. He exhorted the Venetians and all Italy to a general revolt, and called upon them to rise *en masse* in the rear of the French. At the same moment similar intel-

ligence, spread by the friends of Pezzaro, arrived from Venice. Thus coming from two different sources, it is no wonder that it easily obtained belief in the Venetian States, particularly as the armies of the Rhine had actually sustained a similar check in the former year. At Brescia and Bergamo, where the partisans of liberty were the strongest, they immediately took up arms, arranged their plans with the French governors, and sent deputations to Milan, Modena, and Bologna, in order to secure mutual support.

But at Verona, where the party *of the Senate* prevailed, and which Pezzaro considered as *the point of appui of his party*, the people, the military, and the magistrates all rose against the French; many of whom were arrested in their houses: four hundred of our sick were murdered in the hospitals; the French were compelled to shut themselves up in the external forts of Verona, and in that which had been formed within the city, at the entrance of the third bridge.

Kilmaine, who would not suffer himself to be cut off from Victor when the latter should return from Rome, left the city with such part of his force as was not required for guarding the castles, and retired to the Mincio. Thus the lion of St. Mark arose triumphant and terrible; for instead of repressing this dangerous commotion, Pezzaro's party entered heartily into it, whether they really believed the account of Joubert's destruction, whe-

ther they were ignorant that Victor's corps of reserve, already near Verona, was coming up with all possible expedition; or, finally, whether, in their blind animosity, they were in hopes of destroying all innovators, and *of having time to make a grand example of them; or whether it was merely to glut oligarchical revenge*, they filled the *terra firma* with Sclavonian detachments, and furiously pursued the patriots, ringing the tocsin, and repeating the cry of Death *to the innovators* and their adherents.

In vain did the French minister to the Senate, exert himself to make it sensible of the abyss it was digging for itself; in vain he denied the alleged reverses in the Tyrol, and those of the armies of the Sambre and Meuse and Rhine; in vain he explained to them the plan of the campaign; shewed them that Joubert's movement was part of a fixed plan; that he was marching on Carinthia by the Puthersthal, and that, instead of being ruined, he had attained his object. No credit was given to his assurances; the contrary was too eagerly wished for; passion prevailed; and they would believe nothing unfavourable to their hopes.

The Court of Vienna at the same time took care to promise to sign whatever Venice should propose. It was perfectly sensible that an insurrection in the rear of the French was highly advantageous to its interest.

On account of a corps of reserve left by the

French General at Palma-Nuova, of the garrison of Osopo, and of the prudence of the proveditore Mocenigo, fewer excesses were committed in Friuli. Perhaps the people of that country, being nearer the French army, were also better informed with respect to events. The Brescians and others of the *terra firma*, however, as well as all the Italians of the republics, evinced courage and energy against the Venetians. At the same time, marching battalions proceeded from all our depôts, and trains of artillery from our fortresses. *Victor's* division *at length* arrived from the expedition to Rome, although late, and Verona was soon blockaded by an army: the insurgents made a powerful resistance; they yielded only to superior forces, and to reiterated attacks, and maintained themselves up to the 24th of April.

VIII. *The aide-de-camp Junot sent to the Senate of Venice.*—As soon as the French General was informed of the disorders and murders which were committed in his rear, he sent his aid-de-camp Junot to Venice, charged with a letter for the Senate, dated from Jundenburg, the 19th of April, and couched in the following terms:

"Throughout the terra firma the subjects of the most serene republic are in arms; the rallying cry is *Death to the French!*

"The number of the soldiers of the army of Italy who have fallen victims, already amounts to several hundreds. In vain you affect to disavow

the tumults and mobs which you yourselves instigated. Do you imagine that I who have succeeded in carrying our arms into the heart of Germany, shall want strength to force you to respect the first nation in the world? Do you think the legions of Italy will endure the massacres you excite? The blood of my brethren in arms shall be avenged; and there is not a single French battalion, which, when charged with that generous mission, will not feel conscious of three times the courage and strength necessary to punish you. The Senate of Venice has returned the generosity with which we always behaved towards it, with the blackest perfidy.

"I now send you my proposals by one of my aides-de-camp, commanding a brigade: *Peace or war.* If you do not instantly take all necessary measures for dispersing mobs and suppressing tumults; if you do not instantly arrest and deliver into my hands the authors of the murders which are committed, war is declared.

"The Turk is not on your frontiers, no enemy menaces you, and yet you have, in pursuance of a premeditated design, caused priests to be arrested in order to produce a popular tumult, and to turn it against the army. I give you twenty-four hours to suppress it: the times of Charles VIII. are gone by.

"If, notwithstanding the indulgence which the French government has shown towards you, you

reduce me to the necessity of making war; do not imagine that the French soldier, like the robbers whom you have armed, will ravage the fields of the innocent and unfortunate people of the Terra Firma. No; I will protect them, and they shall bless the very crimes that have obliged the French army to wrest them from your tyrannical sway."

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

The aide-de-camp had orders to read this letter himself to the assembled Senate, and to express to them all the indignation which their conduct had excited. But terror had already seized on Venice; the illusion was dissolved. It was known that the armies of the Rhine had never stirred, and had sustained no reverse; that Joubert had arrived at Villach with his whole army; that Victor, having returned from Rome, was investing Verona; that Augereau, returned from a mission to Paris, was advancing on the lagunes with a division of marching battalions; and finally, that Napoleon, victorious in every battle, had spread terror even into Vienna; that he had just granted a suspension of arms to his enemies; and that they had sent plenipotentiaries to him to sue for peace. The dejection of the Venetians was extreme.

The French minister presented Junot; the Senate received him with the greatest humility. All means were employed to soften him. But he fulfilled his mission with all the bluntness of a soldier, which greatly increased the terror of the Senate,

and in the same proportion encouraged the friends of liberty, and induced them to take the upper hand in the city. The Senate sent a grand deputation to the French General, offering him any reparation he could desire; and promising to submit to whatever he might think fit to prescribe. *Every expedient was tried; millions were offered to all who were thought to have any influence; all was unavailing.* The Senate then dispatched couriers to Paris, and placed considerable sums at the disposal of its ministers, in order to gain over *the members of the Directory*, and induce them to give the French General such orders as would save *Venice.* All these attempts were fruitless with respect to the French General: but they succeeded at Paris. The distribution of some money, and the promise of 10 millions, procured the minister of Venice favourable letters, and the dispatch of corresponding orders. But they were not ratified with all the forms desired; besides, the dispatches of the minister to the Senate were intercepted. The French General there found the clue to the whole intrigue; the amount of the sums given, and of the bills of exchange; and by this discovery all was annulled.

Towards the end of April, Napoleon returned by Gratz, Laybach, Trieste, and Palma-Nuova; thence he passed to Trevisa, on the edge of the lagunes, visited the different debouchés of the canals, and on the 3d of May published an order of

the day, by which, grounding his proceedings on the natural law of repelling force by force, he declared war against Venice. This order of the day completed the terror and confusion of that city. The arms fell from every hand; defence was no longer even thought of. The Grand Council of the Aristocracy dissolved itself, and restored to the people the sovereignty, of which a municipal body became the depository. Thus these oligarchs, so proud, so long consulted by the French General, whose alliance had been courted with so much good faith, fell without any means of salvation. In their last agonies, they in vain solicited the interference of the court of Vienna; in vain they requested it to include them in the suspension of arms, and negociation for peace. That court was deaf to all their entreaties: it had its views.

IX. *The French troops enter Venice—Revolution in that city.* Baraguay d'Hilliers entered Venice with his division, towards the middle of May. He took possession of the lagunes, the forts, the batteries of the town, and planted the tricoloured flag in St. Mark's Place on the 16th. The friends of freedom immediately met in a popular assembly; the aristocracy was abolished, and Dandolo, an advocate of Venice, placed himself at the head of all affairs. The lion of St. Mark, and the famous horses of Corinth, which were in that city, were transported to Paris. Twelve 64 gun ships, as many frigates, and some smaller vessels were

found; they were all manned and sent to Toulon.

Corfu was one of the most important points of the Venetian republic. General Gentili, the same who had been sent to retake Corsica, was sent there with four battalions and some companies of artillery; a squadron formed of Venetian ships took possession of that place, the true key of the Adriatic, as well as of the other six Ionian islands, Zante, Cerigo, Cephalonia, &c.

Pezzaro and his principal friends remained overwhelmed with general odium. They were accused of having ruined the republic, by entrusting its fate to the Austrians. They fled from Venice, and took refuge at Vienna. Bataglia sincerely regretted the ruin of his country. Having long censured the course which was followed, he had too clearly foreseen the catastrophe, and survived it but a short time.

X. *Revolution throughout the Terra Firma.* On the reception of the order of the day, declaring war against Venice, the whole Terra Firma revolted against the capital. Every city proclaimed its independence, and formed a government. Bergamo, Brescia, Padua, Vicenza, Bassano, and Udine, immediately became so many separate republics. It was on the same system that the Cispadan and Transpadan republics had begun. The principles of the French revolution were universally adopted; the convents were restricted; national domains were

established, feudal privileges were suppressed; the flower of the nobility and great proprietors united in squadrons of hussars and chasseurs, under the title of *Guards of Honour;* the inferior classes associated in battalions of national guards. The national colours of Italy were adopted, and confederacies were established.

Notwithstanding the extreme vigilance of the French General to prevent abuses and malversations, these malpractices were more frequent at this time than at any other period of the war of Italy. The country was divided between two very violent factions; the passions were more ardent, and the excesses more daring.

At the time of the surrender of Verona, the mount of piety in that city, which possessed seven or eight millions, was robbed. The commissary Bouquet, and Andrieux, a colonel of hussars, accused of this horrible spoliation, were arrested. This robbery was the more atrocious, as it was aggravated by a series of crimes committed in order to conceal it, and as the sufferers were the poor and indigent. All that could be found in the houses of the accused was restored to the proprietors, whose loss was nevertheless very considerable.

IV. *Operations of Joubert in the Tyrol.*—Joubert had defeated the enemy on the Avisio, on the 20th of March, taking several thousand prisoners; had pursued him to Bolzen, defeated him again at Clausen, and directing his march on the right, by the Puthersthal, along the Drave, had marched to enter Carinthia, and to take the left of the French army. He had left a corps of observation on the Avisio to cover Verona in Italy. This corps was, in case of necessity, to fall back on Montebaldo.

Bernadotte, on his side, after having organized Carniola, had rejoined the army, leaving a corps of observation under the command of General Friant, to cover Laybach; as there was an appearance of menace on the side of Croatia. Austria had made a considerable levy amongst that population of a peculiar and wholly military organization. Friant had had several brilliant affairs, but not expecting to maintain Fiume, he contented himself with taking up a position proper for covering Laybach and Trieste. He had, moreover, been instructed, in case of need, to regain Palma-Nuova, which had been well armed, and to increase the corps of observation which had been left there

to cover Italy. From Clagenfurt the French army continued to march towards the Mur.

Prince Charles was in hopes of being able to maintain his ground in the passes of Neumarck; it was of great importance to him to be enabled to cover his communications with Salzburg; the Inn, and the Tyrol, whence he expected very considerable reinforcements. In order to be more sure of them, he requested a suspension of arms of the French General, who, comprehending his aim, refused it. He was then attacked at Neumarck, and forced without striking a blow; he lost some cannon and prisoners. A division of grenadiers from the Rhine covered his retreat; he was again attacked and defeated once more at Hundsmarck. In short, our head quarters reached Jundenburg, and our advanced posts were pushed as far as the Simmering. Thenceforth all Prince Charles's calculations, with respect to his reinforcements, were frustrated. We now cut him off from the two roads of the Tyrol and of Salzburg. The troops which had been opposed to Joubert in the Tyrol, and which the Prince had recalled to him, and those much more considerable forces which were on their march from the Rhine, by Salzburg, to join him, both which were now advanced in those cross roads, were obliged to retrograde, having thenceforth no prospect of rallying round Prince Charles, except behind the Simmering.

Disorder and terror prevailed in Vienna. Nothing could stop this terrible French army. All those positions deemed impregnable, all those passes which it had been judged impossible to force, were now cleared, and the tricoloured flag waved on the top of the Simmering, three days' march from Vienna. Part of the Imperial family had left that capital; Maria Louisa, who afterwards married Napoleon, then six years of age, was sent away with her sisters; the archives and most valuable effects were removed into Hungary; all the principal families, imitating that of the sovereign, hastily removed all that was most precious to them; and people of the best understanding considered the monarchy as being on the eve of a total overthrow.

When the French General opened the campaign, the government had promised him that as soon as he should have passed the Isonzo, the armies of the Rhine and Sambre and Meuse, consisting of more than 250,000 men, should leave their winter quarters and penetrate into Germany. But the Isonzo had long since been passed, and these armies still remained in their winter quarters. The French General, taking advantage of the victory of the Tagliamento, and of the wrong directions in which Prince Charles had moved his columns, had cleared all obstacles between the Alps and the Simmering, without loss, and by that one victory.

VII. *Napoleon writes to Prince Charles.* The

day after the victory of the Tagliamento, Napoleon informed the Directory that he had closely followed Prince Charles, and that the French colours would soon wave on the heights of the Simmering; that he trusted the armies of the Rhine and Sambre and Meuse were on their march, or that at least they soon would be so; he was particularly urgent, above all things, to be informed of the precise moment of their moving; the delay of a fortnight or three weeks was of little importance to him, but he ought to be informed of it, in order to act accordingly. He stated that he should always keep all his army united and disposable, and that his dispositions would be such that he should always be master of the course of events; it would therefore be sufficient merely to acquaint him with the precise moment of the march of these two armies. It was at Clagenfurt that he received the answer to this dispatch: it brought him the congratulations of the Directory on his new successes; but contained, at the same time, the extraordinary declaration that the armies of the Rhine and of the Sambre and Meuse would not pass the Rhine; and that a diversion by them in Germany must not be reckoned upon, because the calamities of the last campaign had deprived them of their boats and other requisite equipments. This strange dispatch could only have originated in some intrigues or political views which it was useless to attempt to penetrate into; but it was no longer feasible for

the French General to accomplish what had been the object of his most ardent wishes, the planting of his colours on the ramparts of Vienna. He could no longer think of passing the Simmering consistently with the rules of prudence. Accordingly, two hours after receiving the courier, he wrote to Prince Charles, that being empowered to negociate, he offered him the glory of giving peace to the world, and of terminating the misfortunes of his country.

"M. General in chief,—Brave soldiers, though they make war, are desirous of peace. Has not the present contest lasted six years? Have we not killed men enough, and sufficiently afflicted humanity? Her voice calls loudly upon us. Europe, after taking up arms against the French republic, has laid them down; your nation stands alone, yet blood is about to flow more profusely than ever. This sixth campaign opens under sinister omens; whatever may be its issue, we shall kill, on both sides, some thousands of men more, and after all, we must necessarily come to an agreement, since all things have an end; not excepting vindictive passions.

"The Executive Directory of the French Republic had communicated to his Majesty the Emperor, its desire of putting an end to the war which ravages all nations; the intervention of the court of London opposed this measure. Is there then no hope of coming to an understanding? and must we, for

the sake of serving the interest and gratifying the passions of a nation, which is a stranger to the calamities of war, continue this mutual slaughter? You, M. General-in-chief, who, by your birth are so near the throne, and above all those little passions which often inspire ministers and governments, are you resolved to merit the title of a benefactor of humanity at large, and saviour of Germany? Do not imagine, sir, that I mean to insinuate, that it is impossible to save Germany by force of arms; but even supposing the chances of war should become favourable to you, that would not preserve your country from devastation. For my part, sir, should the overture I have now made prove the means of saving the life of one individual I should be prouder of the civic crown which I should think I had thereyb merited, than of all the mournful glory which results from military successes."

I request, &c.

(Signed) BUONAPARTE.

This news allowed them to breath again at Vienna, and gave them some hopes. The marquis de Gallo, Neapolitan Ambassador, was immediately sent to the French General; but having no powers, he was obliged to return, after a conference of two hours. The following day Generals Bellegarde and Merfelt came to the French head quarters of Jundenburg, and on giving their word of honour that plenipotentiaries were on the road from Vienna to treat of a definitive peace, they ob-

tained a suspension of arms, which secured the French army the possession of the countries it already occupied, and others also which it did not yet occupy, but which were necessary for its line. The Austrian Generals could scarcely comprehend why the French General, in his fine situation, granted an armistice, they accounted for it solely by the inaction of the French armies on the Rhine.

Napoleon, however, keenly felt the force of circumstances; he lamented, in his heart, that a defect of combination, or a vain jealousy should deprive him of the immense advantages he was on the eve of obtaining. Although he had been indifferent to the glory of entering Rome, he had conceived a passionate desire to enter Vienna, and nothing but the declaration of the Directory could at this time have prevented him.

IX. The preliminaries were signed at Leoben. In order to sign them the parties met at a little country house, which was neutralized for the purpose. The secretaries first drew up the *procès-verbal* of the neutralization, and the respective plenipotentiaries afterwards repaired thither to sign. The Austrian commissioners had introduced, in the beginning of the treaty, that the Emperor recognized the French republic. "Strike "that out," said Napoleon, "the existence of the republic is as visible as the sun; such an article would only become the blind. We are our own masters; we will establish what government we

please, without the interference of any person whomsoever."

At Leoben the French head-quarters were at the bishop's house. It was Passion-week; all the ceremonies of that week and Easter were performed with the greatest solemnity, in the midst of the French army. This army, accustomed to respect the worship and faith of the countries it inhabited, acted, on this occasion just as the Austrian troops would have done, which gave the highest satisfaction to the people and clergy.

The preliminaries had been signed at Leoben on the 18th; and on the 20th the French General received new dispatches from the Directory, announcing that the armies of the Rhine were in motion, that they were about to pass the Rhine, and would very soon be in the heart of Germany. In fact, a few days afterwards, intelligence arrived that the army of the Sambre and Meuse under the command of Hoche, had passed the Rhine on the 19th, the eve of the very day on which the preliminaries of Leoben were signed, but forty days after the opening of the campaign in Italy. Adjutant General Dessolles, who was bearer of the preliminaries to Paris, met our troops engaged with those of the enemy. It is difficult to explain the cause of this sudden change in the system of the government. If Napoleon had heard of the new intentions of the Directory on the 17th instead of the 20th, it is certain that the preliminaries would

not have been signed, or that much better conditions would have been exacted. Those, however, which were obtained, far exceeded the hopes of the Directory, which, in its instructions to the French General, had authorized him to conclude peace whenever the constitutional frontiers of the republic should be acknowledged. It is true, that in giving these instructions, the Directory was far from foreseeing the success and influence which the army would acquire, and therefore, could not know what it would be in a situation to demand.

X. Amongst the different causes to which the strange conduct of the Directory on this occasion was ascribed, it was thought that there were many persons in France who regarded the great fame of Napoleon with some jealousy; his bold and decided manner of proceeding alarmed them with respect to the ulterior objects which his ambition might possibly keep in view. The proclamation, by which he had protected the exiled priests in Italy, and which had gained him many partisans in France; his respectful style towards the pope; his refusal to destroy the Holy See; his delicacy towards the King of Sardinia, and the aristocracies of Genoa and Venice; all these circumstances had made deep impressions, and were often commented upon with very malignant intentions. When the victory of the Tagliamento and the successes which followed it, the passage of the Noric Alps, and the invasion of Germany by this unknown road

were known, the joy of the republic at the deep humiliation of our implacable enemy was much diminished in the eyes of some persons by the fear of seeing Napoleon gain increased glory by a triumphal entry into Vienna; and then unite all the forces of the republic under his sole command. "Who," said they, "can save public liberty from the influence of such glory and so extraordinary a character? The armies of Germany were defeated last year; and this year all their success will be owing to Napoleon, who will alone have turned all Germany, and arrived at Vienna a fortnight or three weeks before them. Besides, these armies, sharing already in the glory of the army of Italy, by means of the two divisions which have been sent, will also partake of its enthusiasm for the young hero; he will master them all."

Many reasons, therefore, induced them to wish Napoleon to be prevented from entering Vienna; and not only that the three armies should remain separated, but that a sort of jealousy should be kept up amongst them. It appeared that these ideas had, at first, influenced the decision of the Directory in some degree; but as soon as the news of the brilliant success of the army of Italy, and its entrance into Germany, had reached the armies of the Rhine, by means of the public papers and the accounts of the enemy, they themselves became indignant at their inactivity, and loudly asked whether the army of Italy was to do every thing. This

impulse was strengthened by the feelings of a great number of families whose children where in the army of Italy, and the opinion of the generality of the citizens actuated by pure and noble sentiments, who were totally unable to account for the inaction of the other armies. The sensation was so violent that it became necessary to let these armies of the Rhine and the Sambre and Meuse pass the river, and march into Germany. The command of the army of the Sambre and Meuse was taken from Beurnonville, an inefficient man, without civil or military talents, and bestowed on Hoche, a young general of the greatest merit. His ardent patriotism, excessive activity, and inordinate ambition, with his constant endeavours to conciliate his officers, and create a great number of partisans, induced a hope that when placed at the head of the most numerous army, and seconded by all the influence of the government, he would easily become a rival worthy of sharing the esteem of the soldiers and citizens, and thus become a security to the republic; notwithstanding the unbounded friendship, esteem, and attachment little short of enthusiasm, which Hoche had constantly evinced towards Napoleon, on all occasions.

These reflections were openly made in the assemblies of Paris, and could not fail to reach Napoleon, who, on the summit of greatness and glory, found himself surrounded by precipices. War could henceforth only increase the perils of his

situation, by adding to his glory; he therefore immediately resolved to seek a new species of reputation in peace, calculated to endear him to the whole people, and create a new career for him. It was this alone which could now rescue the republic from the disastrous situation into which it was actually falling from the bad direction of public spirit in the interior.

RETURN FROM RADSTADT.

I. *Return from Radstadt to Paris.*—Napoleon set out from Radstadt, traversed France *incognito*, arrived in Paris without stopping, and alighted at his small house, Chaussée d' Antin, Rue Chantereine. A resolution of the municipality at Paris, gave to this street, a few days after, the name of Rue de la Victoire. The municipal body, the administration of the department, the councils vied in seeking means of testifying the national gratitude towards him. It was proposed in the council of Ancients, to give him the estate of Chambord, and a mansion in Paris; this would have been in every respect proper. The general of the army of Italy, who, for two years had fed his army, formed and maintained its *matériel*, paid many years of arrears, sent thirty or forty millions to the treasury of France, and several hundred millions in *chefs d' œuvre* of the arts, devoted to public affairs, had neglected his private fortune. He did not possess a hundred thousand crowns, in plate, jewels, money, furniture, &c. A great national reward would, then, have been perfectly consistent; but the directory, no one knows why, took alarm at this proposition, and their supporters got rid of it, by circulating the observation, that the services of the gene-

ral were of a nature not to be recompensed by money.

Immediately on his arrival, the leaders of all parties waited on him, but they were not admitted. The public was exceedingly eager to see him; the streets, the p...ces through which it was thought likely that he would pass, were crowded, but he shewed himself no where.

The Institute appointed him a member in the class of Mechanics; he adopted their costume.

He only received in general a few men of science: such as Monge, Berthollet, Borda, Laplace, Prôny, Lagrange; scarcely any generals, except Kleber, Desaix, Lefebvre, Cafarelli-Dufalga, and a small number of deputies.

The directory determined to grant him a public audience; scaffoldings were raised in the Place du Luxemburg for this ceremony, in which he was introduced and presented by the Minister for foreign affairs, Talleyrand. The substance of his discourse was, that when the Republic should possess the best organic institutions, her happiness and that of Europe would be secured. He avoided speaking of *Fructidor*, of present circumstances, and the English expedition. This simple discourse however, gave much room for conjecture, and still afforded no handle to an enemy. The Directory and the Minister for foreign affairs, each prepared an entertainment for him: he was present at both, and stayed but a short time. He had the appearance of paying little attention to these festivities. That of

the Minister for foreign affairs, Talleyrand, was conspicuous for the utmost refinement of taste; all Paris was present. A celebrated female, determined to enter the lists with the conqueror of Italy, challenged him in the midst of a large circle, asking him who was, in his opinion, the greatest woman in the world, living or dead? She who has had the most children, he replied.

People flocked to the sittings of the Institute, to see the General, he never failed to be there. He was never at the Theatre, but in a private box. He would not listen to the proposition of the directors of the Opera, who wished to prepare a representation on the occasion. Marshal de Saxe, de Lowendal, Dumoutier, had been exhibited there in triumph on their return from the army. Upon his return from Egypt the 18 Brumaire, he appeared at the Tuileries; he was still more the object of eager admiration with the people.

II. *Jealousy of the directory.*—The directory manifested the utmost attention towards him; when they wished to consult him, they always sent one of the ministers to bring him: he was admitted immediately, took his seat between two of the directors, and gave his opinion upon matters as they arose.

The troops, returning to France, sang songs in honour of him, and raised him to the skies. They said, that the lawyers must be turned out, and the general made king.

The directors affected candour towards him,

even so far as to shew him the secret information which the police gave them of it; but they could ill dissemble the uneasiness they felt at so much popularity. The General of Italy perceived all the delicacy and difficulty of his situation. The government was badly managed, and great expectations were formed of him. The directory had at first, the intention of sending him again to Radstadt, to relieve them from the responsibility of the Congress: but the General refused this mission, representing that it was not fit that the same hand should direct the pen and the sword. Afterwards, the directory appointed him commander of the army of England, which served to conceal from the eyes of the enemy, the plan and the preparations for the expedition to Egypt.

The troops composing this army of England, covered Normandy, Picardy and Belgium. Their new General-in-chief, inspected the whole of these districts; but he chose to travel through them incognito: these secret journeys were so much the more matter of uneasiness to the enemy, and concealed more effectually the preparations in the South. He had the satisfaction of confirming every where the sentiments inspired by his person, and his reputation. He every where found himself the object of all conversations, of all preparations. It was in this journey, on his visiting Antwerp, that he first conceived the great maritime ideas, which he subsequently put in execution there. It was

then also that he perceived at St. Quentin all the advantages of the canal which he has since caused to be formed. Lastly, it was then that he fixed his mind on the superiority which the tide gave Boulogne over Calais, for attemping an enterprise against England with mere *peniches.*

III. *The first incident that determined the directory to abandon the principles of policy laid down at Campo-Formio.*—The principles of policy which governed the Republic, had been determined at Campo-Formio. The directory were unacquainted with them. Besides, they could not subdue their passions, every circumstance swayed them. Switzerland furnished the first instance of this. France had constantly cause of complaint against the Canton of Berne, and the Swiss aristocracy. All the foreign agents who had excited troubles in France, had always had their lever at Berne, this was always the fulcrum. It became matter of consideration to take advantage of the great influence we had acquired in Europe, to destroy the preponderance of our enemies in Switzerland. The General of Italy approved highly the resentment of the directory; he thought the moment was come for securing to France the political influence of Switzerland, but he did not think it necessary on that account to subvert the country. It was necessary in order to act in conformity with the adopted policy, to attain the object with the least possible change. He proposed that our ambassador in

Switzerland should present a note, supported by two bodies of troops in Savoy, and Franche-Comté, in which he should declare that France and Italy considered it necessary to their policy and their security, as well as to the reciprocal dignity of the three nations, that the Pays de Vaud, Argau, and the Italian bailiwics should become free and independent Cantons equal to the others; that France and Italy had much reason to complain of the aristocracy of certain families of Berne, Soleure, and Friburg, but that they would forget all, if the peasants of these Cantons were reinstated in their political *rights. All these changes would have been wrought without effort and without employing arms;* but Rewbel, *led on* by the demagogues of Switzerland, caused a different system to be adopted, without respect to the manners, the religion, or the local circumstances of the Cantons. It was determined to submit the whole of Switzerland to a single constitution, like that of France. The small Cantons were irritated at losing their liberty, and all Switzerland rose at the prospect of a disorganization which violated all their interests, and inflamed all their passions. They flew to arms. It was necessary to send in our troops, and conquer the whole country. *Blood was shed:* Europe took alarm.

IV. *Second incident.*—In another quarter, that miserable court of Rome, by a train of insanity which characterised it, provoked, rather than corrected by the treaty of Tolentino, continued its

system of hatred and offence against France, in the hope of repressing those in its bosom who were the friends of France. This cabinet of feeble old men devoid of sense, excited a fermentation of opposite oppinions around them. They made a quarrel with the Cisalpine republic. They had the imprudence to put the Austrian General Provera at the head of their troops. They inflamed their own party by every expedient. A tumult took place; the young *Duphot,* a General of the highest promise who happened to be at Rome as a traveller, was murdered at the door of the French Ambassador, in trying to prevent disorder; and the Ambassador, Joseph, brother to the *General,* retired to Florence.

Napoleon being consulted, replied, by his usual adage, that it was not for a circumstance to regulate policy, but rather for policy to govern circumstances; that, however blamable that imbecile court of Rome might be, the conduct to be pursued towards it still remained a very important question. That it was necessary to chastise it, but not destroy it; that by deposing the Pope, and revolutionizing Rome, there would infallibly be war with Naples, which, above all things, should be avoided. That our Ambassadors should be ordered to return to Rome, to demand that example should be made of the guilty, to require that an extraordinary embassy should be sent to make apologies at the Luxembourg; to cause the depar-

ture of Provera, to put the most moderate of the prelates at the head of affairs, and to compel the Pope to conclude a concordat with the Cisalpine Republic, that by these united measures, Rome, being rendered tranquil, might no more be in a condition to meddle in politics. That this Concordat with the Cisalpine would moreover have the advantage of preparing before hand the minds of the French for a similar measure. But la Reveillère, surrounded by his theophilanthropists, led them to decide upon marching against the Pope. The time was come, he said, to make this idol vanish. Besides, the name of Roman Republic was sufficient to excite all the ardent imaginations of the revolution. The French General had been too cautious, when opportunity offered, and if there were now quarrels with the Pope, it was solely his fault; but perhaps he had his private views in it! In a word, his courteous ceremonies, his delicacy towards the Pope, his generous compassion for exiled priests had, at times, made a strong impression on the minds of Frenchmen.

As to the fear that the revolution of Rome would lead to a war with Naples, that was treated as an over-strained subtilty. We had ourselves a numerous party in Naples, and we could fear nothing from a state of the third rank. Berthier consequently received orders to march with an army to seize Rome, and establish the Roman republic;

this was executed. Three consuls were established at Rome as the executive power; a Senate and a Tribunate composed the legislative. Fourteen cardinals attended at the basilic of St. Peter; and sang a Te Deum in commemoration of the re-establishment of the Roman republic, which was nothing less than the abolition of the temporal authority of the Pope. But the people, intoxicated for a moment with the idea of independence, drew with them the greater part of the clergy. The hand, however, which had hitherto restrained the officers and the administrators of the army was no longer there; they abandoned themselves in Rome to the most licentious spoliations, all the furniture of the Vatican was utterly wasted, pictures and objects of curiosity were every where seized. They so alienated the country, that the country in its turn succeeded in corrupting the army: it rose against some of the generals whom it accused. This seditious movement of the soldiers was full of the most imminent danger; it was with great difficulty they were restrained. It is believed with reason that they were incited by Neapolitan, English, and Austrian agents.

V. *Third incident.* Bernadotte had been appointed ambassador to Vienna. The choice *was not good:* a general could not be agreeable to a nation so constantly beaten; a person filling a civil situation should have been sent; but the Directory had few of these at their disposal, either they were

too obscure, or they had kept them at too great a distance. However that may be, Bernadotte, at that time of too warm a disposition, committed some serious faults during his embassy. One day, no one can guess from what motive, he caused the tri-coloured flag to be hoisted on his house. It is thought that he was insidiously induced to it by certain agents who wished to involve Austria in difficulties. In fact, the populace, by the instigation of the same agents, were immediately in a state of insurrection; they tore down the flag and insulted Bernadotte.

The Directory, in their fury, sent for the *General of Italy* to fortify themselves by his influence on public opinion, and submitted to his perusal a message to the councils, declaring war against Austria, and a decree giving to himself the command of the army of Germany. He did not concur in opinion with the Directory. If you were desirous of war, you should have prepared for it independently of this affair of Bernadotte; you should not have engaged your troops in Switzerland, in southern Italy, on the shores of the ocean; *the project for reducing the army* to a hundred thousand men *should not have been announced;* a project not yet executed it is true, but which is known and discourages the army. These measures indicate that you had reckoned on peace. Bernadotte is greatly in the wrong: by declaring war, you are playing the game of England. It

is ignorance of the policy of the Cabinet of Vienna, to suppose that if it had desired war, it would have insulted you. It would have flattered and lulled you, while it was putting its troops in motion. You would not have known its real intentions till the first shot was fired. Rest assured that Austria will give you every satisfaction. It is not having a system of policy, *to be thus led away by all circumstances.* The force of truth calmed the government. Austria gave satisfaction; the conferences of Selze took place, but this circumstance retarded the Egyptian expedition for a fortnight.

VI. *Delay of the expedition to Egypt.*—Napoleon began to fear, that amid the storms which the ignorance of government and the nature of affairs were accumulating round us, this enterprise might prove fatal to the real interests of the nation; he communicated his thoughts to the Directory. Europe, he said, was any thing but tranquil. The Congress at Radstadt did not come to a conclusion. We were obliged to retain troops in the interior, to secure the elections and keep down the departments in the west. He proposed to countermand the expedition and wait for more favourable circumstances.

The Directory, alarmed, suspecting that *he had* an intention of aspiring to the direction of affairs, were only the more eager in hastening the expedition, particularly as they did not perceive all the

consequences of the changes they had produced in *the public system.* According to them, the events in Switzerland, far from weakening us, afforded us some excellent positions, and the Helvetic troops for auxiliaries. The affair of Rome was ended, since the pontiff was already at Florence and the Roman republic proclaimed; and that of Bernadotte could have no further consequences, as the Emperor had offered reparation. The moment, then, was more favourable than ever for attacking England, as had been arranged, in Ireland and in Egypt. He offered, at least, to leave Kleber or Desaix, who were eager to be *in the expedition.* Their great reputation and superior talents might in case of need be of essential use in France; but they refused Kleber, whom Rewbel detested, and Desaix, whose talents they did not appreciate. The republic, they replied, was not driven to these two Generals. There would be found a multitude to ensure the triumph of the country, if ever it should be in danger.

VII. *The Republic is threatened with a crisis in the interior.—The Directory are on the brink of an abyss, but are not aware of it.*—Affairs went on badly, too, in the interior. The Directory had abused their victory of Fructidor. They had committed the great mistake of not rallying round the republic all who, not having taken part with the foreign faction, had only been seduced or misled. By this they had been deprived of the assistance

and talents of a great number of individuals, who, in resentment, went over to the party opposed to the republic, notwithstanding their interests and opinions naturally inclined them to that government. They found themselves driven to employ men without principle. Hence arose discontent in public opinion, and the necessity for maintaining a great number of troops at home, to secure the elections and restrain La Vendée.

It was easy to forsee that the new elections would lead to a crisis, that the new third of legislators would be composed of violent men who would increase the source of the evils which pressed upon the nation. The Directory had no internal policy; they went on but from day to day, influenced by the individual temper of the Directors, or the vicious nature of a government composed of five persons. They foresaw nothing, and never perceived any difficulties until they were materially checked. When it was said to them: "How will you act at the ensuing elections?"— "We will provide for that by a law," replied La Reveillere. The end has shown what was the nature of the law meditated by the Directory. *When they were asked: Why do you not raise up all the friends of the republic who were only misled and deceived, in Fructidor, by the foreign party? Why not recal Carnot, Portalis, Dumolard, Barbé-Marbois, &c. &c. to form an union against the foreign*

and the violent parties? But the Directors attached little value to these observations, they believed themselves to be popular and seated on a firm and solid foundation. A party composed of Deputies possessing influence in the two Councils, patriots of Fructidor who sought a protector, generals the most powerful and the most enlightened, long pressed the General of Italy to stir and put himself at the head of the republic; he refused: he was not yet strong enough to go alone. On the art of government and what was necessary for a great nation, he had ideas so different from the men of the revolution and the Assemblies, that, not having power to act alone, *he was fearful* of compromising his character. He resolved to set out for Egypt, but with a determination to re-appear if circumstances occurred to make his presence necessary or useful.

VIII. *Ceremony of the 21st of January.*—Talleyrand, the minister of exterior relations, was the creature of the Directory. He was bishop of Autun at the time of the revolution; he was one of the three bishops who took the oath to the civil constitution of the clergy, and who consecrated the constitutional bishops. It was he who said mass at the famous federation of 1790. When deputed to the constituent assembly, he made several reports on the property of the clergy. Under the legislative body, he was sent to London, to treat with the English government. But when the revolution had

taken a more rapid and violent direction; he became one of the *suspected*, and was compelled to take refuge in America.

After the 13th of Vendemiaire, the convention erased the quondam bishop of Autun, from the list of emigrants; he then returned to France, and was much patronized by Madame de Stael's Coterie. He was discreet, pliant, and insinuating, and obtained the favour of the Directors Barras, Merlin, Rewbel, and even of la Reveillere Lepaux, to whom he paid his court, as he had formerly done at Versailles. He became minister for foreign affairs, which led him into a correspondence with the negociator of Campo-Formio. Talleyrand, from that moment, applied himself to pleasing the General, and to insinuate himself into his favour; it was he who was constantly employed by the Directory in transactions with the General of Italy. On the approach of the 21st of January, on which the government celebrated the anniversary of the execution of Louis XVI. it became a great subject of discussion between the Directors and the Ministry, whether Napoleon should attend the ceremony or not. It was feared, on the one side, that if he did not go, the holiday might become unpopular; on the other, that if he did go, the Directory would be forgotten and neglected, and the people would think of him only. Nevertheless, it was finally concluded that he ought to go. Talleyrand, as usual, undertook this negociation; the General excused

himself, saying, that he had personally nothing to do with this ceremony, which, on account of its nature, was agreeable but to very few people. He added that this festival was of the most impolitic description: that the event which it commemorated was a catastrophe, an absolute national calamity. That he could easily understand why they celebrated the 14th of July, a period when the nation regained its rights by victory; but that the people might have regained their rights, and even founded a republic without staining themselves with the execution *of a prince declared inviolable and exempt from responsibility by the constitution itself.* Whether that sacrifice had been useful or not, he did not pretend to decide, but he maintained that it was an unfortunate event. That national festivals are celebrated for victories gained; but the victims left *on the field of battle* are lamented. That it was perfectly regular, that he (Talleyrand) being a Minister, should appear on the occasion, but that a private individual had nothing to do with it. That this policy of celebrating the death of a man, could never be the act of a government; but only that of a faction; *as much as to say, of a club of jacobins.* That he could not conceive how the Directory, which had proscribed jacobins and anarchists, which was now in treaty with so many princes, could be insensible to the fact that such a ceremony not only made the republic many more enemies than friends, kept people at a distance, instead

of inviting them, irritated, instead of conciliating, and shook the social edifice, instead of strengthening it, but was wholly unworthy of the government of a great nation. Talleyrand employed all his rhetoric: he endeavoured to prove that it was just, because it was politic; and it was politic, he said, for all countries and all republics had constantly commemorated, as a triumph, the fall of absolute power, and the murder of tyrants. Thus Athens had always celebrated the death of Pisistratus; and Rome the fall of the Decemvirs. He added, that it was, moreover, a law of the nation, and that, therefore, every one owed submission and obedience to it; finally, he concluded, that the General's influence on public opinion was such, that he ought to make his appearance, as his absence might be injurious to the public weal. After several parleys, a middle course was adopted: the Institute attended this solemnity; it was agreed, that *as a member of the Institute*, Napoleon should *follow his class*, which had to fulfil a duty as a public body. This affair thus arranged by Talleyrand, gave great satisfaction to the Directory.

Nevertheless, when the Institute entered St. Sulpice, where this ceremony was celebrated, some one who recognized Napoleon having pointed him out, all eyes were thenceforth fixed on him exclusively. What the Directors themselves had apprehended took place; they found themselves completely eclipsed. When the festival was over, the

Directory was allowed to go out quite alone. The multitude remained to attend him who had endeavoured to pass unnoticed amongst the members of the Institute, and made the sky resound with *Long live the General of the army of Italy!* so that this event only increased the displeasure of those at the head of affairs.

Another event gave Talleyrand an opportunity of making himself agreeable to the Directory. In a coffee-room, or some public room, at Garchi's, two young men, under pretence of political raillery, suggested by the manner in which they wore their hair, were insulted, attacked, and assassinated. This snare had been laid by order of the Minister of Police, Sottin, and managed by his agents. Now the *General of Italy* was already so circumstanced, that although living privately in his own domicile, he was nevertheless compelled, on account of his personal safety, to keep a vigilant eye on matters of this kind. He loudly expressed his indignation, and Talleyrand was sent to pacify him. Talleyrand said, that such events were common in critical times, that the circumstances of revolutions were an exception to ordinary rules; that it had become necessary, here, to awe fashionable society, and to repress the audacity of the saloons; that there were some faults which tribunals could neither reach nor punish; that the *lanterne* of the Constituent Assembly could not certainly be approved of, but that without it the revolution could not have pro-

ceeded; that there are evils which must be endured because they prevent greater evils. The General answered that such language might, at best, have been tolerable before Fructidor, when the hostile parties were face to face, and the Directory had been placed under the necessity of defending itself, rather than governing; that at that time such an act might, perhaps, have been excused by the necessity of the case; but now that the Government was invested with the whole power, and that the law met with no opposition from any quarter; now that the citizens were all submissive, at least, if not well affected, this action became an atrocious crime, an absolute outrage on civilization; that wherever the words law and liberty were pronounced, all the citizens were reciprocally sureties for each other; but that by this cut-throat affair every one would be struck with terror, would ask where this was to end, and think himself under the rule of the Janissaries. These reasons were too plausible to need explanation to a man of M. de Talleyrand's intelligence and character; but he had a commission; he was endeavouring to apologize for a government whose favour and confidence he was ambitious to preserve.

Voltaire.—Jean Jarques Rousseau.—Characteristic difference between the English and the French nations.—M. de Chateaubriand.—His speech at the Institute.—Affected anger of the Emperor on several occasions.—His principles on that head.

Saturday, 1st of June.—The Emperor sent for me. He had just come out of his bath, where he had remained three hours, and he asked me to guess what book he had been engaged in reading whilst in the water; it was Rousseau's new Eloise. He had expressed himself quite charmed with this work when he first perused it at the Briars; but in analysing it again, he now criticised it with unsparing severity. The rock of *la Meillerie* being mentioned, he said, he thought it had been destroyed when he caused a road of communication to be opened through the Simplon; but I assured him that enough remained to preserve a perfect recollection of it: it projects over the road, and, like Leucate of old, offers a fine leap to despairing lovers.

To the noble character given by Rousseau to Lord Edward in his new Eloise, and to the impression produced by some of Voltaire's plays, the Emperor ascribed, in a great measure, the high estimate which had been formed in France of the English character. The facility with which public opinion was governed in those days, excited

his surprise; Voltaire and Rousseau who had *then* directed it as they pleased, would not, he thought, be able to do so at the present time; and Voltaire, in particular, had only exercised so powerful an influence over his contemporaries, and been considered the great man of his age, because all around him were pigmies.

The Emperor then proceeded to compare the character of the English and French nations. "The higher classes among the English," said he, "are proud; with us unfortunately they are only "vain; in that consists the great characteristic "distinction between the two nations. The mass "of the people in France certainly possess a "greater share of national feeling than any other "now existing in Europe; they have profited by "the experience of their twenty-five years revolu-"tion; but unfortunately that class which the "revolution has advanced have not been found "equal to the station of life to which they have "been elevated; they have shown themselves cor-"rupt and unstable; in the last struggles they "have not been distinguished either by talents, "firmness, or virtue; in short, they have degraded "the honour of the nation."

A speech of M. de Chateaubriand has been read to the Emperor, on the propriety of allowing the clergy to inherit. The Emperor observed, that it was rather an Academical oration than the opinion of a legislator—it had wit, but showed little judg-

ment, and contained no views whatever. "Allow "the clergy to inherit," said he, "and nobody will "die without being obliged to purchase abso- "lution; for, whatever our opinions may be, we "none of us know where we go on leaving this "world. Then must we remember our last and "final account, and no one can pronounce what his "feelings will be at his last hour, nor answer for "the strength of his mind at that awful moment. "Who can affirm that I shall not die in the arms "of a confessor? and that he will not make me "acknowledge myself guilty of the evil I shall not "have done, and implore forgiveness for it?"—In the present instance however, as somebody has observed, M. de Chateaubriand may be said to uphold an opinion rather than express a sentiment of his own; and there are strong grounds for believing that in religion, as well as in politics, he has often been known to set forth doctrines which had failed to carry conviction to his own mind.

On the article of religion, for instance, it is well known that before he wrote his *Beauties of Christianity*, he had published in London another work, of a tendency decidedly anti-religious.* The bookseller to whom he entrusted the sale of this work, was a man of the name of Dulau, formerly a benedictine monk of Soreze, who had sought refuge in London at the time of the revolution. Being a man

* Essai sur les revolutions anciennes & modernes.

of intelligent mind and sound judgment, he took the liberty of giving M. De Chateaubriand some good advice. He represented to him that both the place and the time were ill chosen for indulging in declamations against religion; that the moment had gone by when they were favourably received; that they had become common place and in bad taste; and that the surest way to engage the attention of the public, would be to take up the other side of the question, and advocate, on the contrary, the cause of religion. M. De Chateaubriand listened to this advice, and wrote his *Beauties of Christianity*; and the event proved that Dulau had not been mistaken in his choice of the moment, for it is very doubtful, if the work were to appear now, whether it would obtain the brilliant success it then met with, notwithstanding the great merit which it undoubtedly possesses.

The appointment of the author of *The Beauties of Christianity* to the embassy of Rome, was considered at the time, as a very delicate attention on the part of the first consul to M. De Chateaubriand, who, in his turn, hailed it as a first triumph, and the presage of still greater triumphs which awaited him in the capital of the Christian world, amongst the rulers of the church. But he was soon doomed to find himself greatly mistaken, for Rome found herself highly incensed at seeing religion made the subject of novels, and the Divines condemned without hesitation *The Beauties*

of Christianity, which they pronounced to abound in heresies.

However, M. de Chateaubriand, thoroughly convinced of his own merit, consoled himself by affecting to laugh with pity at such puerilities; and happening to be about this time godfather to a little girl, he gave her the name of *Atala*; by this name, however, the priest positively refused to christen her, whilst M. de Chateaubriand, in his turn, insisted with all the obstinacy of an author and all the pride of an ambassador. The noise of this affair got abroad, and M. de Chateaubriand laid a complaint before the cardinal then in power; who decided in favour of the priest; and moreover, felt highly offended on the occasion; for M. de Chateaubriand fancying that his services in the cause of religion had given him the right to assume the tone of one initiated in the secrets of the church, concluded his argument with the Cardinal by saying: "That it was very ridiculous that such "obstacles should be thrown in *his* way; for," added he, "*between ourselves*, your Eminence "must know that between Atala and all other "Saints, the difference is not great."

The Emperor was highly entertained by these anecdotes, which he said, were quite new to him, and the person who related them observed, that although he could not vouch for their authenticity, yet he had no doubt of it in his own mind, having heard them from one of the

persons who succeeded M. de Chateaubriand at the court of Rome.

In Politics.—M. de Chateaubriand has been alternately seen, it was added, amongst the adherents and opponents of Napoleon; and the Emperor charges him, when in his service, with malevolence and disloyalty, particularly at the time of his embassy to the old king of Sardinia at Rome.*

During the disastrous event of 1814, he made himself conspicuous by writing pamphlets so outrageously violent and virulent, and disgraced by such bare-faced calumnies, that they excited feelings of disgust. He no doubt must regret having been the author of them, and would not now degrade his talents by such writings.

Some years before our disasters, the Emperor reading one day some fragments of this author's works, expressed his surprise that he was not a member of the Institute. These words acted as a powerful recommendation in favour of M. de Chateaubriand, who hastened to put himself in the list as a candidate, and was almost unanimously chosen.

According to one of the invariable rules of the Institute, the candidate newly chosen was to make a speech in praise of the member to whom he was then succeeding; but M. de Chateaubriand, persuaded that for a man who had once occupied the

* See letters from the Cape.

attention of the public, the surest way to acquire celebrity was to leave the beaten track, and strike through a new path to fame, reversed this custom by devoting part of his speech to stigmatize the political principles of M. Chenier his predecessor, and proscribe him as a regicide. His speech was a complete political argument, discussing the restoration of monarchy and the judgment and death of Louis XVI.; the whole Institute was in an uproar, some of the members refusing to listen to a speech which appeared to them indecorous, and others on the contrary insisting upon its being read. From the Institute the dispute spread rapidly through the different circles of Paris, which were full of the debate, and divided in opinion on the subject, and at last reached the ears of the Emperor, to whom every thing was carried, and who wished to be informed of every thing. He ordered the speech to be shown to him, pronounced it to be extravagant in the extreme, and instantly forbade its publication. It so happened that one of the members of the Institute who had taken a lively part in the discussion, and voted for the reading of the speech, was also one of the great officers of the Emperor's household; and the Emperor took advantage of this circumstance to manifest his opinion, by addressing him in the following manner at one of his *couchers*:—"How long is it, sir," said he, with the utmost severity, "since the Institute has pre-"sumed to assume the character of a political as-

"sembly? the province of the Institute is to pro-
"duce poetry and to censure faults of language;
"let it beware how it forsakes the domain of lite-
"rature, or I shall take measures to bring it
"back within its limits. And is it possible that
"*you*, sir, have sanctioned such an intemperate
"harangue by your approbation? If M. de Cha-
"teaubriand is insane, or disposed to malevolence,
"a madhouse may cure him, or a punishment cor-
"rect him; yet it may be that the opinions he has
"pronounced are conscientiously his own, and he
"is not obliged to surrender them to my policy,
"which is unknown to him; but with you the case
"is totally different—*you* are constantly near my
"person, you are acquainted with all my acts, you
"know my will; there *may* be an excuse in M. de
"Chateaubriand's favour, there *can* be none in
"yours. Sir, I hold you guilty, I consider your
"conduct as criminal: it tends to bring us back
"to the days of disorder and confusion, anarchy
"and bloodshed. Are we then banditti? and am
"I but an usurper? Sir, I did not ascend the throne
"by hurling another from it; I found the crown,
"it had fallen; I snatched it up, and the nation
"placed it on my head: respect the nation's act.
"To submit facts that have so recently occurred
"to public discussion in the present circumstances,
"is to court fresh convulsions, and become an
"enemy to the public tranquillity. The restora-
"tion of monarchy is veiled in mystery, and must

"remain so; wherefore then, I pray, this new "proposed proscription of conventionals and re- "gicides? Why are subjects of so delicate a na- "ture again brought to light? To God alone it "must belong to pronounce upon what is no "longer within the reach of the judgment of men! "Are you to be more scrupulous than the Em- "press? her interests are as dear as yours can be "in this question, and much more direct, yet she "has asked no questions, she has made no en- "quiries; take example from her moderation.

"Have I then lost the fruit of all my care? have "all my efforts been of so little avail, that as soon "as my presence no longer restrains you, you are "quite ready to bathe once more in each others "blood?" And, in speaking thus, he paced the room with rapi[illegible]des, and striking his forehead with his hand, exclaimed: "Alas! poor France, "long yet must thou need the guardian's care.

"I have done all in my power," continued he, "to quell all your dissensions; to unite all parties "has been the constant object of my solicitude. "I have made all meet under the same roof, sit at "the same board, and drink of the same cup. I "have a right to expect that you will second my "endeavours.

"Since I have taken the reins of government, "have I ever inquired into the lives, actions, opi- "nions, or writings of any one.—Imitate my "forbearance.

"I have never had but one aim, never asked but "this one question; will you sincerely assist me "in promoting the true interest of France? and "all those who have answered affirmatively have "been placed by me in a straight road, cased in "rock, and without issue on either side, through "which I have urged them on to the other ex- "tremity, where my finger pointed to the honour, "the glory, and the splendour of France."

This reprimand was so severe, that the person to whom it was addressed, a man of honour, and delicate feelings, determined upon asking an audience the next day, in order to tender his resignation. He was admitted to the presence of the Emperor, who immediately said to him, "My dear sir, "you are come on account of the conversation of "yesterday; you felt hurt on occasion, and I "have felt no less so; but it was a piece of advice "which I thought it right to give to more than one "person; if it has the desired effect of producing "some public good, we must not either of us re- "gret the circumstance; think no more about it." And he spoke of something else.

Thus would the Emperor often censure whole bodies in the person of one single individual; and in order to strike with greater awe, he did it in a most solemn and imposing manner. But the anger which he sometimes shewed in public, and of which so much has been said, was only feigned, and put on for the moment. The Emperor affirmed,

that by such means he had often deterred many from the commission of a fault, and spared himself the necessity of punishing.

One day, at one of his grand audiences, he attacked a Colonel with the utmost vehemence, and quite in a tone of anger, upon some slight disorders of which his regiment had been guilty towards the inhabitants of the countries they had passed through, in returning to France. During the reprimand, the Colonel, thinking the punishment out of all proportion to the fault of which he was accused, repeatedly endeavoured to excuse himself, but the Emperor without interrupting his speech, said to him in an under tone, "Very well, but hold "your tongue; I believe you; but say nothing:" and when he afterwards saw him in private, he said to him: "When I thus addressed you, I was chas- "tising in your person, certain Generals whom I saw "near you, and who, had I spoken to them direct, "would have been found deserving of the lowest "degradation, and perhaps of something worse."

But it sometimes happened also, that the Emperor was publicly appealed to: I have witnessed several instances of this kind.

One day at St. Cloud, at the grand audience which was held on each Sunday, a Sub-Prefect, or some other public officer of Piedmont, who was standing by my side, addressed the Emperor in a loud tone of voice, and with the utmost emotion, calling for justice, asserting that he had been falsely accused,

and unjustly condemned and dismissed from the service. "Apply to my ministers," answered the Emperor. "No sire, I wish to be judged by you;" "That is impossible, my time is wholly absorbed "with the general interests of the Empire, and my "ministers are appointed to take into consideration "the particular cases of individuals." "But they will "condemn me." "For what reason?" "Because "every body is against me." "Why?" "Because I "love you—to love you, sire, is a sufficient motive "to inspire every one with hatred." All the by-standers were disconcerted at this answer, and red with confusion; but the Emperor replied with the utmost calmness. "This is rather a strange asser-"tion, sir, but I am willing to hope that you are "mistaken," and he passed on to the next person. On another occasion also, on the parade, a young officer stepped out of the ranks, in extreme agitation, to complain that he had been ill-used, slighted, and passed over, and that he had been five years a Lieutenant, without being able to obtain promotion. "Calm yourself," said the Emperor, "I was "*seven* years a Lieutenant, and yet you see that a "man may push himself forward for all that." Every body laughed, and the young officer, suddenly cooled by those few words, returned to his place. Nothing indeed was more common, than to see private individuals attack the Emperor, and hold out against him, and I have often seen him thus sharply and warmly disputed with, and unable to silence his opponent, give up the contest by ad-

dressing another person, or by turning the conversation to another subject.

It may be observed as a general principle, that however violent the Emperor's actions might appear, they were always the result of calculation. "When one of my ministers," said he, "or some "other great personage had been guilty of a fault "of so grave a nature that it became absolutely "necessary for me to be very angry, I always "took care in that case to have a third person "present to witness the scene that was to ensue; "for it was a general maxim with me, that when "I resolved to strike a blow, it must be felt by "many at the same time; the immediate object of "my resentment did not feel more incensed against "me on that account, and the by-stander, whose "embarassed appearance was highly ludicrous, did "not fail to run and circulate, most discreetly, as "far as he could, all that he had seen and heard. A "salutary terror ran thus from vein to vein through "the body social: a new impulse was given to "the march of affairs; I had less to punish, and "a great deal of public good was obtained with-"out inflicting much private hardship."

Reflections on the Governor.—Expenses of the Emperor's household at the Tuileries.—Of a good system of finance. —M. M. Mollien and Labouillerie.

Sunday 2d—The Emperor rode out on horseback at about eight o'clock; he had long since ab-

stained from enjoying that exercise. In returning through the valley of the Company's garden, he went into the house of one of the Company's Adjutants, whose wife is a Catholic, he remained there a few minutes only, and was in high spirits. We next went to the house of Madame Bertrand, to whom the Emperor paid a long visit. He alluded, in the strongest terms, and with infinite humour, to the behaviour of the Governor towards us; to his paltry measures, his total want of consideration, the absurd manner in which he conducted the affairs of the government of the island, and his total ignorance of the business and manners of life. "We had certainly some reason to complain of "the Admiral," said the Emperor; "but *he* at "least was an Englishman, and this man is nothing "but a *Sbire* of Italy. We have not the same man- "ners," added he, "we cannot understand each "other; our feelings do not speak the same lan- "guage. He probably cannot conceive, for in- "stance, that heaps of diamonds would be insuffi- "cient to atone for the affront he has offered in "causing one of my domestics to be arrested al- "most in my presence. Since that day all my "household are in consternation."

On returning from our ride we breakfasted in the garden. In the evening, whilst we were taking an airing in the *Calêche*, and going over what we called the *double tour*, we beguiled away the time in making an estimate of the expenses of a

man possessing an income of 150,000 livres in Paris. The Emperor said that a sixth of that sum should go for the stable, a fourth for the table, &c. I have already said that he was fond of making such calculations, which he always had the art of placing in a new and unexpected light.

The conversation led us on to some details worthy of remark on the civil list and the expenses of the Emperor's household. The following are amongst those I have remembered:

One million was allowed for the table, and yet the expense of the Emperor's own dinner did not exceed one hundred francs a day. It had never been found possible to manage to give him his dinner hot, for when once engaged in his closet, it was impossible to know when he would leave it. Therefore, when the hour of dinner arrived, a fowl was put on the spit for him every half hour; and it has sometimes happened that several dozen have been roasted before that which has finally been set before him.

The conversation now turned upon the advantages of a good administration of finances. The Emperor spoke highly of the talents of M. M. de Mollien and Labouillerie, in that branch. M. de Mollien, in particular, had put the treasury on the footing of a simple banking-house; and the Emperor had continually under his eyes, in a small book for that purpose, a complete statement of

the revenue, the receipt, expenditure, arrears, resources, &c. &c.

The Emperor had in his cellars at the Tuileries, added he, as much as 400 millions in gold, which were entirely his own property; so much so indeed that no other account of it existed but in a small book in the hands of his private Treasurer. All this treasure disappeared by degrees, and was applied to the expenses of the Empire, particularly at the time of our disasters. How could I think, said he, of keeping any thing for myself, I had identified myself with the nation. He further added that *he* had sent 2000 millions in specie into France, without taking into account what private individuals might have brought on their own account.

The Emperor said, he had been much hurt at the conduct of M. de Labouillerie, who being at Orleans in 1814, in charge of several millions belonging to him, (Napoleon), his own private property, had taken them to the Count d'Artois in Paris instead of carrying them to Fontainbleau, as he was in duty and in conscience bound to do. "And yet Labouillerie was not a bad man," said the Emperor, "I had both loved him and es-
"teemed him. On my return in 1815 he car-
"nestly entreated me to see him and hear what
"he had to say in his own defence; he no doubt
"would have proved that his fault arose from
"his ignorance, and not from his heart. He

"knew me; he was aware that if he could ap-
"proach me, the affair would be settled with a
"few angry expressions on my part; but I also
"knew my own weakness, I was resolved not to
"take him into my service again, and therefore
"refused to admit him. It was the only way in
"which I could hope at that moment to hold out
"against him and several others. Esteve the pre-
"decessor of Labouillerie would not have acted
"in that manner; he was entirely devoted to my
"person; he would have brought my treasure
"to Fontainbleau at all hazards; or if he had
"failed in the endeavour, he would have thrown
"it into a river, or distributed it in various places,
"rather than give it up."

On Women, &c.—Polygamy.

Monday, 3d.—The Emperor after having been three hours in his bath, went out at about five o'clock to take a walk in the garden. He was taciturn and dejected, and wore the appearance of suffering. We afterwards drove out in the *Caléche*, and by degrees he became more cheerful and talkative.

On our return he continued to walk for some time; and in order to engage in a playful warfare with one of the ladies present, he affected to declaim against women. "We men of the west," said he, winking sideways to us at the same time,

to let us know that he was jesting, "know nothing "at all about the matter, we have acted most un- "wisely in treating women too well; we have im- "prudently allowed them to rank almost as our "equals. In the East they have more sense and "judgment; *there* women are pronounced to be "the actual property of man; and so indeed they "are, nature has made them our slaves, and it is "only by presuming upon our folly that they can "aspire to govern us, and by abusing the advan- "tages which they possess, that they succeed in "fascinating us and establishing their dominion "over us. For one woman that inspires us with "proper sentiments, there are a hundred who lead "us into errors." He then went on to express his approbation of the maxims of the oriental nations, highly commended the practice of polygamy, which he considered to be that pointed out by nature; and displayed considerable ingenuity and fertility of invention in the choice and number of arguments which he adduced in support of his opinion. "Woman," said he, "is given to man "to bear children to him; but one woman cannot "suffice to one man for that purpose, for a woman "cannot fulfil the duties of a wife during the period "of her gestation, whilst she suckles her child, or "when she is ill: and she ceases altogether to be "a wife when she is no longer able to bear chil- "dren. To man, on the contrary, nature has op-

"posed no such obstacles at any period of his "existence; a man should therefore have several "wives.

"After all," continued he, smiling significantly, "what have you to complain of, ladies? have we "not acknowledged that you possess a soul? "though certain philosophers, you know, have en- "tertained doubts on this point. You aim at equa- "lity, but *that* is madness: woman is our pro- "perty, we are not hers; for it is she that gives us "children, and not we to her: she is therefore the "property of man in the same manner as the fruit- "tree is the property of the gardener. If the hus- "band be unfaithful to his wife, and he confess "his fault and repent of it, there is an end of the "matter; no trace of it is left, the wife is angry, "forgives, or becomes reconciled; and not unfre- "quently is a gainer on the occasion. But the "case is widely different when the wife is unmind- "ful of the marriage vow; it is of no avail for her "to repent, the consequences of her guilt are in- "calculable, the mischief irreparable, she must "never, she can never confess it. You will there- "fore agree with me, Ladies, that it can only be an "error of judgment, the want of education, or the "preponderance of vulgar notions, that can prompt "a wife to believe herself the equal, in every re- "spect, of her husband. There is, however, no- "thing disparaging in the inequality; each sex

"has its attributes and its duties; your attributes, "Ladies, are beauty, grace, fascination; your "duties submission and dependence," &c. &c.

After dinner, the Emperor desired my son to bring him the Memoirs of the Chevalier de Grammont, and a volume of Voltaire's plays. Having, as he said, imposed on himself the task of remaining up till eleven o'clock, the Emperor read for some time the Memoirs, observing that a very little could be rendered amusing when seasoned with genuine wit. He afterwards turned over Mahomet, Semiramis, and other plays of Voltaire, pointing out their faults and blemishes, and concluding, as he generally did, that Voltaire had no knowledge either of affairs, men, or the real passions of human nature.

The Emperor resumes the dictation of his memoirs, &c.

Tuesday 4th—The Emperor sent for me at about four o'clock to take a ride in the *Calèche*. He told me he had at last been dictating again, and that what had been done would not be found devoid of interest. He added, that he had been during the whole morning very much out of humour; that he had at first attempted to go out at about one o'clock, but that he had found himself compelled to return into the house, pursued by disgust and *ennui*; and that not knowing what to do with himself, he had thought of resuming his dictations.

The Emperor had long since ceased to apply himself regularly to this occupation. Several months had already elapsed since my campaigns of Italy were finished; the campaign of Egypt which he had dictated to General Bertrand, was also completed; and General Gourgard had been very ill. All these circumstances had concurred to cause interruptions, which had engendered disgust; the Emperor had not proceeded further, and could not summon courage to begin again.

I took advantage of what he had just said, to represent to him, that to dictate, was, for him, the surest, the only remedy against *ennui*, the only way in which he could beguile the tedious hours; and for us, the means of obtaining the inestimable advantage of being put in possession of treasures, in the existence of which, the honour and glory of France were equally interested. I urged, that it was of paramount importance that he should continue to write his own history. "Each of us," said I, "would willingly give his life to obtain it; it was due to his memory, to his family, to us. Where would his son find the events of his father's life faithfully recorded? What pen could be found equal to the task of retracing them in a manner worthy of the subject? and yet, without such invaluable documents, how many events would be buried with Napoleon, and remain for ever unknown! We who surrounded him formerly, what did we *then* know? how much had we not learnt

here, &c. &c. The Emperor replied that he would continue his Memoirs, and consulted me as to the plan to be followed in digesting them; should they appear as a history? or as annals? He discussed the point for a long time, but without coming to any conclusion.

At dinner he said, "I have to-day been severely "reprimanded on account of my idleness; I am "therefore going to take to my task again, and "embrace several periods at the same time: each "of you shall have his share. Did not Herodotus," said he, looking at me, "give to his books the "names of the muses? I intend that each of "mine shall bear the name of one of you. Even "little Emmanuel shall give his to one of them. "I will begin the history of the Consulate with "Montholon, Gourgaud shall record the events of "some other period, or detached battles; and little "Emmanuel shall prepare the documents and "materials necessary to commemorate the period "of the coronation."

Military Schools.—Plan of Education prescribed by the Emperor.—His intentions in favour of Veterans.—Changes introduced in the Manners of the Capital.

Wednesday 5th.—The Emperor went out at about four o'clock, he had been three hours in his bath, and did not feel well. Yet the weather was delightful; it was like a fine afternoon of Europe. We walked until we came up to the *Calèche*,

and then took our usual drive. Our conversation turned upon the military school of Paris before the Revolution, and we contrasted the footing of luxury upon which we were placed at that school, with the severe discipline introduced by the Emperor in these establishments under his reign.

At the military school of Paris we were treated in every respect like officers of fortune, boarded and waited upon in a style of great magnificence, greater indeed than the circumstances of most of our families warranted, and greater than most of us could hope to be able to keep up in after life. The Emperor had been anxious, he said, to avoid falling into this error; he had wished, above all, that his young officers, who were one day to command soldiers, should begin by being soldiers themselves, and learn by experience all the technical details of the service; a system of education, he added, which must ever prove an immense advantage to an officer in the course of his future career, by enabling him to watch over and enforce the observance of those details in others who are placed under his orders. It was according to this principle, that at St. Germain the young students were obliged to groom their own horses, were taught to shoe them, &c. &c. The same spirit presided over the regulations at St. Cyr; there several pupils were made to lodge together in one large apartment, a common mess was provided for all indiscriminately, &c. &c.; yet the attention paid

to these particulars was not suffered to interfere with the care bestowed upon the instruction necessary to qualify them for their future career; in short, they did not leave St. Cyr before they had really earned the rank of officer, and were found capable of leading and commanding soldiers. And it must be admitted, the Emperor observed, that if the young men who passed from that institution at its origin, into different corps of the army, were at first viewed with jealousy, ample justice was soon rendered to their discipline and to their abilities.

The establishments of Ecouen, St. Denis and others, which the benevolent solicitude of Napoleon had created for the daughters of members of the legion of honour, were conducted upon principles of a similar nature. Some of the rules made by the Emperor himself, ordered that every article for the use of the institution should be made in the house and by the hands of the pupils themselves, and forbade every species of luxury, extravagance in dress, and plays; the object being, he said, to form good house-wives and honest women.

Public opinion had given to Napoleon, at the time of his elevation, the reputation of a man of a harsh disposition and void of sensibility; yet it is certain that no sovereign ever acted more from the impulse of genuine feelings than he did; but from a peculiar turn of mind, he concealed all

emotions of the heart with as much care as others take to display them.

He had adopted all the children of the soldiers and officers killed at Austerlitz, and with him such an act would not have been one of mere form; he would have provided for them all.

I heard the following anecdote from a young man who has related it to me since my return to Europe, with tears of gratitude in his eyes: He had been fortunate enough when yet very young to attract the Emperor's notice by some signal proof of his devotedness; Napoleon asked him what profession he would wish to embrace; and without waiting for his answer, pointed out one himself: the young man observed that his father's fortune was not sufficient to allow him to follow it; "what has that to do with it," replied the Emperor hastily; "Am *I* not also your father?" Those persons who have known Napoleon in his private life, who have lived near his person, can quote a thousand traits of the same kind.

He had done much for the army and the veterans, and proposed to do much more: every day some new thought tending to that object occupied his mind. The plan of a decree was one day laid before us in the Council of State, proposing that in future all vacant situations in the customs, the collection of the revenue and the excise, should be given to wounded soldiers, or to veterans capable

of filling them, from the private up to the highest ranks in the army. This plan being coldly received, the Emperor addressed one of those who opposed it in his usual manner, urging him to discuss the question freely, and state his opinion without reserve. "Sire," answered M. Malouet, "my "objection is, that I fear the other classes of the "nation will feel themselves aggrieved in seeing "the army preferred to them." "Sir," replied the Emperor warmly, "you make a distinction which "does not exist; the army no longer forms a se-"parate class of the nation. In the situation in "which we are now placed, no member of the "state is exempt from being a soldier; to follow a "military career is no longer a matter of choice, "it is one of necessity. The greatest number "of those who are engaged in that career have "been compelled to abandon their own profession "against their will, it is therefore but justice that "they should receive some kind of compensation "for it."—"But," observes again the member who opposed the plan, "will it not be inferred that "your majesty intends that in future almost all "vacant situations shall be given to soldiers?"—"And such is indeed my intention," said the Emperor; "Sir, the only question is, whether I "have the right to do so, and whether I thereby "commit an act of injustice? Now the constitution "gives me the nomination to all places, and I "think it a principle of strict equity, that those

"who have suffered most have the greatest claims "to be indemnified." Then raising his voice, he added, "Gentlemen, war is not a profession of "ease and comfort; quietly seated on your benches "here you know it only by reading our bulletins, "or by hearing of our triumphs—you know no-"thing of our nightly watches, our forced marches, "the sufferings and privations of every kind to "which we are exposed: but I do know them, be-"cause I witness them, and sometimes share in "them."

This plan however, like many others, was at last abandoned, after having been several times under discussion, and variously modified; and the beneficent intentions of the Emperor were, I believe, not even known to the public, though he had appeared to take a lively interest in the passing of this decree, and to defend it in its most minute details.

Amongst the objections started against this plan at the commencement of the discussion, and the arguments to which they gave rise, were the following:—"Would your majesty, for instance, "give such situations to a soldier who could not "read?"—"Why not?"—"But how would he be "able to discharge his duties, how could he keep "his accounts?"—"Sir, he would apply to his "neighbour, he would send for his relations, and "the benefit intended for one would be felt by "many. Besides, I do not hold your objection to

"be valid, we have only to stipulate that the man "appointed shall be qualified to fill the situa-"tion." &c.

Towards evening the Emperor sent for me to his own room. I found him alone near a small fire, but almost in the dark, the lights being placed in the next apartment. This obscurity, he said, was in harmony with his melancholy. He was silent and dejected.

After dinner the Emperor took up the Memoirs of the Chevalier de Grammont, but found himself unable to continue to read them.

A discussion then arose upon the manner in which time was spent in Paris. The habits of society in former times and the present were passed in review. The Emperor said he had thought much and often upon the means of introducing variety into the pleasures of society. He had had assemblies at court, plays, journies to Fontainbleau, but they had only produced the effect, he said, of inconveniencing the people at court without influencing the circles of the metropolis. There was not yet a sufficient degree of cohesion in those heterogeneous parts to allow them to react upon each other with due effect; but this, he affirmed, would have been brought about in the course of time. It was observed to him that he had much contributed to shorten the evenings at Paris, as all persons employed by government having a great deal to do, and being obliged to rise

very early, were under the necessity of retiring early.

"It caused, however, great surprise in Paris," said the Emperor, "produced quite a revolution "in manners, and almost stirred up a sedition in "the circles of the metropolis, when the First "Consul required that boots should be abandoned "for stockings, and that some little care should be "bestowed upon dress to appear in company."

The Emperor dwelt with great pleasure upon the causes of the good-breeding and amiable manners which distinguished society in our younger days. He defined particularly those points which contributed to render intimacy agreeable, such as a slight tinge of flattery on both sides, or, at least, an opposition seasoned with delicacy and politeness, &c.

Repugnance to Physic.—Gil Blas.—General Bizanet.—Heroic deeds of French valour.—Reflections, &c.

Thursday, 6th.—I did not see the Emperor before six o'clock; being indisposed he had remained in his room, and had not eaten any thing the whole day. He said he found himself unwell, and was amusing himself by looking over some prints of London which the Doctor had lent him. The Doctor had had the honour of seeing the Emperor in the course of the day, and had made him laugh. "Hearing that I was not well," said Napoleon, "he claimed me as his prey, by immediately

"advising me to take some medicine; medi-
"cine to me, who, to the best of my recollec-
"tion, never took any in the whole course of
"my life."

It was now past seven; the Emperor said that a man who felt hungry was not very ill. He called for something to eat, and a chicken was brought to him, which he found excellent. This revived his spirits a little, he became more talkative, and passed in review several French novels. He had been employed the greatest part of the day in reading Gil Blas, which he thought full of wit; but the hero and all his companions, he said, had deserved to be sent to the gallies. He then turned over a chronological register, and stopped at the brilliant affair of Bergen-op-zoom, commanded by General Bizanet.

"How many gallant actions," said the Emperor,
"have been either forgotten in the confusion of
"our disasters, or overlooked in the number of
"our exploits. The affair of Bergen-op-zoom is
"one of these. A competent garrison for that
"town would have been probably from eight to
"ten thousand men, but it did not then contain
"more than two thousand seven hundred. An
"English General, favoured by the darkness of
"the night, and by the intelligence which he kept
"up with the inhabitants, had succeeded in pene-
"trating into it, at the head of four thousand
"eight hundred chosen men. They are in the

"town, the inhabitants are on their side, but no-
"thing can triumph over French valour! a despe-
"rate engagement takes place in the streets, and
"nearly the whole of the English troops are killed
"or remain prisoners. That is undoubtedly, ex-
"claimed the Emperor, a gallant action! General
"Bizanet is a gallant officer!"

It is certain, as Napoleon had observed, that in the last moments of the empire, numberless heroic deeds and historical traits have been overlooked in the confusion of our disasters, or have disappeared in the abyss of our misfortunes. Such are the extraordinary and singular defence of Huningen, by the intrepid Barbanegre. The brilliant expedition of the brave Excelmans in Versailles, which might have been followed by the most important results, if it had been supported as it had been decided that it should be; and several others.

Nevertheless, these noble deeds at that critical period, have shed a lustre on the ranks of the army, rather than on its principal leaders. It would have been well, if at the moment of that terrible catastrophe, during that fatal crisis, some of our first generals had again exhibited some of those noble acts of courage, those signal efforts which marked our first triumphs, and which, under Napoleon's reign had become almost a national habit; whatever the result might have been, the attempt would have been a source of consolation to our glory, and France would contemplate with

satisfaction the heroic convulsions of her agony. We ought not to have ended by common actions.

At that calamitous period we had more troops abroad than at home: Dresden contained an army: a second army was shut up in Hamburg; a third in Dantzick; and a fourth might have been easily collected by bringing together the immense number of our soldiers which formed several other intermediate garrisons. All the efforts of our enemies tended only to keep these brave troops separated from France, and to cut off their return. Oh! that some one of their leaders had been inspired with the thought to take advantage of those circumstances to liberate the sacred soil, by attacking boldly that of the enemy, and obliging him thus to retrace his steps; would it have been impossible to unite those different corps?

Would not the union of the garrisons of Dresden, Torgau, Magdeburg, Hamburg, have produced a formidable army in the rear of the enemy, capable of breaking through his line, or of placing him in a most critical situation? might not such an army have taken possession of Berlin, liberated the garrisons on the Oder, gone to the assistance of Dantzick, raised an insurrection in Poland, so well prepared for it, or, in short, done something bold, striking, unexpected, in a word, worthy of us?

What then was required to give a favourable turn to our destinies? the most trifling event before the allies entered France would have sufficed

to enable us to conclude a peace on reasonable terms at Francfort; and at a later period when the enemy was already in our own territory, the slightest cause of uneasiness in his rear at the time of the heroic actions of Champaubert, Montmirail, Vauchamp, Craon, Monterau, would probably have determined the hasty retreat of the allies, and insured our triumph, and perhaps their destruction. And if the general who had thus dared to devote himself had failed in the attempt, it would not have been the worse for us, since we have ultimately fallen; and he, in the spirit of our national character, would have gained to himself the reputation of a hero, and rendered his name immortal.

Instead of which about one hundred thousand men were lost to France, by tamely adhering to the letter of their instructions; a system which we had long since abandoned. But perhaps I speak inconsiderately and without due knowledge of the subject; perhaps local circumstances and objections of which I am totally ignorant might be adduced as conclusive answers against me; such as the health of the troops, the state of destitution in which they were; the non-reception of orders from the Emperor, who did endeavour to give some orders of that kind; the fear of deranging the main plan; the dread of incurring too great a responsibility, &c. But is it not rather that the source of these high conceptions, and the cause of their heroic execution, were to be found in Napoleon alone,

and that where *he* was not, as it may have been often observed, affairs were suffered to sink to the level of their ordinary course. Be that as it may, something of the kind was however suggested to the General commanding the army in Dantzick, at the time of the capitulation of that town. The idea came from an officer of inferior rank, it is true, but from one whose courage and intrepidity, and the success with which they had been crowned, entitled him perhaps to give such an opinion: it was Captain de Chambure, the leader of that renowned free company which covered itself with glory during the siege. This company had been formed, for that particular service, of one hundred picked men chosen out of the most notoriously intrepid, throughout all the corps of the army; it fulfilled, and even exceeded all the expectations which it had raised; and the besiegers, struck with terror at its exploits, honoured it with the name of *the infernal*. It would sometimes land at night in the rear of the Russian army, slaughter their sentinels, spike their guns, burn their magazines, destroy their parks, threaten the lives even of the generals, and return to the town through the enemy's camp over the bodies of all who opposed its passage. These facts and several others are recorded in the general orders of that army.

It cannot be denied that in ordinary times, in the days that preceded ours, every one of

these actions would have been sufficient to immortalize every individual who had a share in them, and that even amidst the wonders of our age they are deserving of particular notice. On his return from Elba, Napoleon was desirous of seeing the brave Chambure, who was covered with wounds: he was accordingly introduced to the Emperor by the Minister of War, and was immediately appointed to the command of a partisan corps on the eastern frontiers of France: where he again shewed himself worthy of his fame. Two English officers fell into his hands in the very heart of France, and at the moment of the violent exasperation produced by the recent disasters which had again befallen us. De Chambure protected these officers from the fury of his own soldiers, and preserved to them their equipages and even their baggage. Will it be believed? Some time after, this officer whose courage, loyalty, and above all, whose noble conduct were deserving of the highest recompense, was by a French tribunal condemned to the gallies for life, and to be branded and exposed in the pillory, for having, it was said, stopped and robbed two officers of the enemy's army on the highway! Such is the justice of party spirit! Such the monstrous aberrations to which the judgment and the consciences of men can be reconciled by the effervescence of civil commotions!

Under these circumstances no alternative was

left to Colonel de Chambure but a speedy retreat from his own country: it was in vain that from his exile he endeavoured to make the truth known; it was in vain that the two English officers gave the most extensive publicity to the testimonials of their gratitude; a considerable time elapsed before Colonel de Chambure could seize the opportunity of a moment of political calm, to deliver up his person to the tribunals, and call for a revision of his trial—that revision took place, and this time the result was a declaration that there were not even any grounds of accusation against him! This is indeed one of the peculiar signs of the times!

The Emperor's imaginary Plans for the future.—Napoleon little known even by his Household—His Religious Opinions.

From Friday 7th to Saturday 8th.—During a long private conversation this morning, the Emperor passed in review all the horrors of our present situation, and enumerated all the chances which hope suggested of better days.

After having gone over these topics, which I cannot repeat here, he gave the rein to his imagination, and said that the only countries in which he could reside for the future were England and America. His inclination, he added, prompted for America, because *there* he would be really free, and independence and repose were all he now sighed for: then followed an imaginary plan of

life: he fancied himself with his brother Joseph, in the midst of a little France, &c. &c. Yet policy, he observed, might decide for England. He was bound perhaps to remain a slave to events —he owed the sacrifice of himself to a nation which had done more for him, than he had done for it in return, &c. and then followed another imaginary plan for the future, &c.

In the course of our subsequent conversation, the Emperor could not sufficiently express his surprise at the conviction which he had obtained, that several of those who surrounded him and formed his court, believed the greatest part of the many absurdities and idle reports which had been circulated respecting himself, and that they even went so far as to doubt the falsehood of the enormities with which his reputation had been stained. Such as—that he wore armour in the midst of us —was addicted to the superstitions of forebodings and fatality—subject to fits of rage or of epilepsy —that he had strangled Pichegru—caused a poor English captain's throat to be cut, &c. &c. And we could not but admit that his invective against us on the occasion was merited; all we could allege in our defence was, that many circumstances had concurred to leave those who formerly surrounded his person as much in ignorance on the subject as the bulk of the nation could be. We frequently saw him, I said, but we never held any communication with him; every

thing remained a mystery for us. Not a voice was raised to refute, whilst many in secret, and some that were nearest his person, either through perverseness, or with bad intentions, seemed ever busy in dealing out insinuations. As for myself, I candidly confessed that I had not formed a just idea of his disposition before I came here, although I could congratulate myself that I had certainly guessed him in part. "And yet," he observed in reply, "*you* have often seen me and heard me in "the Council of State."

In the evening, after dinner, the conversation turned upon religion. The Emperor dwelt on the subject at length. The following is a faithful summary of his arguments; I give it as being quite characteristic upon a point, which has probably often excited the curiosity of many.

The Emperor, after having spoken for some time with warmth and animation, said: "Every "thing proclaims the existence of a God, *that* can- "not be questioned; but all our religions are evi- "dently the work of men. Why are there so "many?—Why has ours not always existed?— "Why does it consider itself exclusively the right "one?—What becomes in that case of all the vir- "tuous men who have gone before us?—Why do "these religions revile, oppose, exterminate one "another?—Why has this been the case ever and "every where?—Because men are ever men; be- "cause priests have ever and every where intro-

"duced fraud and falsehood. However, as soon "as I had power I immediately re-established "religion. I made it the ground-work and "foundation upon which I built. I considered it "as the support of sound principles and good "morality, both in doctrine and in practice. "Besides, such is the restlessness of man, that his "mind requires *that something* undefined and "marvellous which religion offers; and it is better "for him to find it there, than to seek it of Cag-"liostro, of Mademoiselle Lenormand, or of the "other soothsayers and imposters." Somebody having ventured to say to him, that he might possibly in the end become devout, the Emperor answered with an air of conviction, that he feared not, and that it was with regret he said it; for it was no doubt a great source of consolation; but that his incredulity did not proceed from perverseness or from licentiousness of mind, but from the strength of his reason. "Yet," added he, "no "man can answer for what will happen, particu-"larly in his last moments. At present I certainly "believe that I shall die without a confessor; and "yet there is such a one (pointing to one of us) "who will perhaps receive my confession. I am as-"suredly very far from being an atheist, but I can-"not believe all that I am taught in spite of my "reason, without being false and a hypocrite. When "I became Emperor, and particularly after my mar-"riage with Maria Louisa, every effort was made

"to induce me to go with great pomp according "to the custom of the Kings of France, to take the "sacrament at the church of *Notre Dame*; but this "I positively refused to do: I did not believe in the "act sufficiently to derive any benefit from it, and "yet I believed too much in it to expose myself to "commit a profanation." On this occasion a certain person was alluded to, who had boasted, as it were, that he had never taken the sacrament. "That is very wrong," said the Emperor; "either "he has not fulfilled the intention of his educa- "tion, or his education had not been completed." Then, resuming the subject, he said, "To "explain where I come from, what I am, "and whither I go, is above my comprehension; "and yet all that is. I am like the watch that "exists, without possessing the consciousness of "existence. However, the sentiment of religion is "so consolatory, that it must be considered as "a gift of Heaven: what a resource would it "not be for us here to possess it? What influ- "ence could men and events exercise over me, "if bearing my misfortunes as if inflicted by "God, I expected to be compensated by him with "happiness hereafter! What rewards have *I* not "a right to expect, who have run a career so ex- "traordinary, so tempestuous as mine has been, "without committing a single crime, and yet how "many might I not have been guilty of? I can "appear before the tribunal of God, I can await

" his judgment without fear. He will not find my " conscience stained with the thoughts of murder, " and poisonings, with the infliction of violent and " premeditated deaths, events so common in the " history of those whose lives have resembled " mine. I have wished only for the glory, the " power, the greatness of France. All my facul- " ties, all my efforts, all my moments, were di- " rected to the attainment of that object. These " cannot be crimes; to me they appeared acts of " virtue! What then would be my happiness, if " the bright prospect of futurity, presented itself " to crown the last moments of my existence."

After a pause, he resumed. " How is it possi- " ble that conviction can find its way to our hearts, " when we hear the absurd language, and witness " the acts of iniquity of the greatest number of " those whose business it is to preach to us? I am " surrounded by priests, who repeat incessantly, " that their reign is not of this world, and yet they " lay hands upon every thing that they can get. " The pope is the head of that religion from hea- " ven, and he thinks only of this world. What did " the present Chief Pontiff? who is undoubtedly a " good, and a holy man, not offer to be allowed to " return to Rome! The surrender of the govern- " ment of the church, of the institution of bishops, " was not too high a price for him to give, to be- " come once more a Secular Prince. Even now, " he is the friend of all the Protestants, who grant

" him every thing, because they do not fear him.
" He is only the enemy of catholic Austria, because
" her territory surrounds his own, &c.

" Nevertheless," he observed again, " it cannot
" be doubted, that as Emperor, the species of incre-
" dulity which I felt was favourable to the nations
" I had to govern. How could I have favoured
" equally sects so opposed to one another, if I had
" been under the influence of one of them? How
" could I have preserved the independence of my
" thoughts, and of my actions, under the controul
" of a confessor, who would have governed me by
" the dread of hell? What power cannot a wicked
" man, the most stupid of mankind, thus exercise
" over those by whom whole nations are governed?
" Is it not the scene shifter at the opera, who from
" behind the scenes, moves Hercules at his will?
" Who can doubt that the last years of Lewis XIV.
" would have been very different, had he been di-
" rected by another confessor? I was so deeply
" impressed with the truth of these opinions, that I
" promised to do all in my power, to bring up my
" son in the same religious persuasion, which I my-
" self entertain," &c.

The Emperor ended the conversation, by de-siring my son to bring him the New Testament; and taking it from the beginning, he read as far as the conclusion of the speech of Jesus on the mountain. He expressed himself struck with the highest admiration, at the purity, the sublimity, the

beauty of the morality it contained; and we all experienced the same feeling.

Portrait of the Directors.—Anecdotes.—18th Fructidor.

Sunday 9th.—The Emperor spoke much of the creation of the Directory; he had installed it, being then Commander-in-chief of the army of the interior. This brought him to pass in review the five Directors, whose portraits and characters he drew. He gave a lively picture of their follies, and their faults, and this led him to the events of Fructidor, and brought to light many curious transactions. I have collected the following particulars, partly, from some of his desultory conversations, and, partly, from his dictations of the campaigns of Italy.

"Barras," said the Emperor, "of a good family "of Provence, was an officer in the regiment of the "Isle of France; at the revolution, he was chosen "deputy to the national convention for the depart- "ment of the Var. He had no talent for oratory, "and no habits of business. After the 31st of May, "he was, together with Freron, appointed Com- "missioner to the army of Italy, and to Provence, "which was then the seat of civil war. On his re- "turn to Paris, he threw himself into the Thermi- "dorian party; threatened by Robespierre, as well "as Tallien and the remainder of Danton's party, "they united, and brought about the events of the "9th Thermidor. At the moment of the crisis, the

"convention named him to march against the com-
"*mune*, which had risen in favour of Robespierre;
"he succeeded.

"This event gave him a great celebrity. After
"the downfall of Robespierre, all the Thermido-
"rians became the leading men of France.

"At the critical period of the 12th Vendemiaire,
"it was determined, in order to get rid at once of
"the three commissioners to the army of the inte-
"rior, to unite in the person of Barras the power of
"commissioner and commander of that army. But
"the circumstances in which he was placed were
"too much for him, they were above his powers.
"Barras had no experience in war, he had quitted
"the service when only a captain; he had no know-
"ledge of military affairs.

"The events of Thermidor and of Vendemiaire,
"brought him into the Directory; he did not pos-
"sess the qualifications required to fill that situa-
"tion, but he acted better than was expected from
"him, by those who knew him.

"He put his establishment on a splendid footing,
"kept a pack of hounds, and his expenses were con-
"siderable. When he went out of the Directory, on
"the 18th Brumaire, he had still a large fortune,
"and he did not attempt to conceal it. That fortune
"was not large enough to have contributed in the
"least to the derangement of the finances, but the
"manner in which it had been acquired, by favour-

"ing the contractors, impaired the morality of the "nation.

"Barras was tall; he spoke sometimes in mo- "ments of agitation, and his voice filled the house. "His intellectual capacity did not allow him to "go beyond a few sentences, but the animation "with which he spoke would have produced the "impression that he was a man of resolution; this "however he was not; and he had no opinion of "his own upon any part of the administration of "public affairs.

"In Fructidor, he formed with Rewbel and La "Reveillere Lepaux, the majority against Carnot "and Barthelemy; after that event he became to "all appearance the most considerable man of the "Directory, but, in reality, it was Rewbel who pos- "sessed the greatest influence. Barras always ap- "peared in public the warm friend of Napoleon. "At the time of the 30th Prairial, he had the art "to conciliate to himself the preponderating party "in the assembly, and he did not share the dis- "grace of his colleagues.

"La Reveillere Lepaux, born at Angers, belonged "to the lower ranks of the middling class of society. "He was short, and his exterior was as unprepos- "sessing as can well be imagined; in his person "he was a true Æsop. He wrote tolerably well, "but his intelligence was confined, and he had nei- "ther habits of business, nor knowledge of man- "kind. He was alternately governed, according

"to circumstances by Carnot or Rewbel. The "*Jardin des plantes*, and the Theophilanthropy, "a new religion of which he had the folly to "become the founder, occupied all his time. In "other respects, he was a patriot, warm and sin- "cere, an honest man, and a citizen full of probity "and of learning; he was poor when he became "a member of the Directory, and poor when he "left it. Nature had not qualified him to occupy "any higher station, than that of an inferior ma- "gistrate."

Napoleon, after his return from the army of Italy, found himself, without knowing why, the object of the particular assiduity, the marked attentions and flatteries of the Director La Reveillere, who asked him one day to dine with him, strictly *en famille*, in order, he said, to be more at liberty to converse together. The young General accepted the invitation, and found, as he had promised, nobody present but the Director, his wife, and his daughter, who by the way, the Emperor added, were three paragons of ugliness. After the dessert, the two ladies retired, and the conversation took a serious turn. La Reveillere descanted at length upon the disadvantages of our religion, upon the necessity, however, of having one, and extolled and enumerated the advantages of the religion which he wanted to establish, the Theophilanthropy. I was beginning to find the conversation rather long and heavy, said the Emperor, when on

a sudden, La Reveillere rubbing his hands with an air of satisfaction, said to me affectedly, and with an arch look: "How valuable the acquisition of a "man like you would be to us—what advantage, "what weight would be derived from your name— "and how glorious that circumstance would be to "you!—Now what do you think of it?"—The young General was far from expecting to receive such a proposal; however, he replied with humility, that he did not think himself worthy of such an honour; and his principles being, when treading an obscure path, to follow the track of those who had preceded him in it, he was resolved to act on the article of religion, as his father and mother had done. This positive answer convinced the high-priest, that nothing was to be done; he did not insist, but from that moment there was an end of all his attentions and flatteries towards the young General.

"Rewbel," said the Emperor, "born in Alsace, "was one of the best lawyers in the town of Colmar. "He possessed that kind of intelligence, which de- "notes a man skilled in the practice of the bar,— "his influence was always felt in deliberations, "—he was easily inspired with prejudices—did "not believe much in the existence of virtue—and "his patriotism was tinged with a degree of en- "thusiasm. It is problematical whether he did or "did not amass a fortune, during the time he was "in the *Directory*; he was surrounded by contrac-

" tore it is true,—but with his turn of mind, it is
" possible that he only amused himself by con-
" versing with men of activity and enterprise, and
" that he enjoyed their flatteries, without making
" them pay for the *complaisance* he shewed them.
" He bore a particular hatred to the Germanic
" system—he displayed great energy in the assem-
" blies, both before and after the period of his
" being a magistrate, and was fond of a life of ap-
" plication and activity. He had been a member
" of the Constituent Assembly, and of the Conven-
" tion; by the latter he was appointed Commis-
" sioner at Mentz, where he gave no proofs of firm-
" ness, or of military talent; he contributed to the
" surrender of the town, which might have held
" out longer. He, like all lawyers, had imbibed
" from his profession a prejudice against the army.

" Carnot, born in Burgundy, had entered very
" young the corps of engineers, and shewed him-
" self an advocate of the system of Montalembert.
" He was considered by his companions an eccen-
" tric character, and was already a knight of the
" order of St. Louis when the revolution begun, the
" principles of which he warmly espoused. He
" became a member of the convention, and was one
" of the *Comité de Salut public* with Robespierre
" Barrère, Couthon, Saint-Juste, Billaud-Varenes,
" Collot-d' Herbois, &c. He shewed himself par-
" ticularly inveterate against the nobility, and found
" himself in consequence, frequently engaged in

" quarrels with Robespierre, who, towards the close " of his life, had taken a great many nobles under " his protection.

" Carnot was laborious, sincere on every occa- " sion, but unaccustomed to intrigue, and easily de- " ceived. He was attached to Jourdan, as commis- " sioner from the *Convention*, at the time Jourdan " was employed in relieving the town of Mentz, " which was besieged; and he rendered some ser- " vices on the occasion. At the *Comité de Salut* " *public*, he directed the operations of the war, and " was found useful, but he had neither experience " nor practice in the affairs of war. He shewed on " every occasion a great strength of mind.

" After the events of Thermidor, when the *Con-* " *vention* caused all the members of the *Comité de* " *Salut public* to be arrested, with the exception of " himself, Carnot insisted upon sharing their fate. " This conduct was the more noble, inasmuch as " public opinion had pronounced itself violently " against the *Comité*. He was named member of " the Directory after Vendemiaire; but after the " 9th Thermidor his mind was deeply affected by " the reproaches of public opinion, which accused " the *Comité* of all the blood which had flowed on " the scaffold. He felt the necessity of gaining " esteem, and believing that he took the lead, he " suffered himself to be led by some of those who " directed the party from abroad. His merit was " then extolled to the skies, but he did not deserve

" the praises of the enemies of France; he found
" himself placed in a critical situation, and fell in
" Fructidor.

" After the 18th Brumaire, Carnot was recalled
" by the First Consul and placed in the department
" of war; he had several quarrels with the minister
" of the finances, and Dufresnes the director of the
" treasury, in which it is but fair to say that he
" was always in the wrong. At last he left the
" department, persuaded that it could no longer
" go on for want of money.

" When a member of the *Tribunate*, he spoke
" and voted against the establishment of the Em-
" pire; but his conduct, open and manly, gave no
" uneasiness to the administration. At a later
" period he was appointed chief inspector of
" reviews, and received from the Emperor on his
" retiring from the service a pension of twenty
" thousand francs. As long as things went on
" prosperously, the Emperor heard nothing of him;
" but after the campaign of Russia, at the time of
" the disasters of France, Carnot asked to be em-
" ployed; he was appointed to command the town
" of Antwerp, and he behaved well at his post. On
" his return in 1815, the Emperor, after a little he-
" sitation, appointed him to be minister of the
" interior, and had no cause to repent of having
" done so; he found him faithful, laborious, full
" of probity, and always sincere. In the month of
" June, Carnot was named one of the Commission

"of the Provisional Government, but being unfit "for the place, he was duped."

Le Tourneur de la Manche was born in Normandy; he had been an officer of engineers before the revolution. It is difficult to explain how he came to be appointed to the *Directory*; it can only be from one of those unaccountable caprices of which large assemblies so often give an example. "He was a man of narrow capacity, little learning, "and of a weak mind. There were in the Conven- "tion five hundred deputies that were better qua- "lified for the situation; he was however a man "of strict probity, and left the Directory without "any fortune."

Le Tourneur made himself the talk and the laughing stock of Paris: it was said that he came from his department to take possession at the Directory in a cart, with his housekeeper, his kitchen utensils, and his poultry. The wags of the capital marked him, and he was overwhelmed with ridicule. He was made, for instance, to return from the *Jardin des Plantes*, where he had run immediately on his arrival in Paris, and to give an account of the rare things he had found there; and on being asked whether he had seen Lacepede,* to express his surprise at having passed it unobserved, affirming that the cameleopard was the only animal that had been pointed out to him.†

* A professor of natural history.

† I have been since told that part of these jokes relate to

"The Directory was hardly established before "it began to lower itself in public estimation "by caprices, bad morals, and false measures. "The faults and absurdities which it committed "daily completed its discredit, and it was lost in "reputation almost at the very moment of its for- "mation. Intoxicated with their elevation, the Di- "rectors though it became them to adopt a cer- "tain air, and sought to acquire the appearance "and manners of *bon ton*. In order the better to "succeed, they formed each to himself a little "court, where they received and welcomed the "higher classes, hitherto in disgrace, and who "were naturally their enemies, and from which "they excluded the greatest part of their old ac- "quaintances and former companions, as thence- "forward too vulgar. All those who during the "revolution had shown more energy than the "members of the Directory, or who had trodden "in the same path with them, became odious "to them and were immediately removed; and "the Directory thus rendered itself ridiculous to "one party, and alienated from itself the affections "of the other. These five little courts exacted a "greater degree of servility in proportion as they "were inferior and ridiculous; but numbers of "men were found who could not bring themselves

a man of the name of Letourneux, who was a minister about that time.

" to bend and submit to formalities which the re-
" collection of recent circumstances, the nature of
" the government and the character of the go-
" vernors, rendered inadmissible.

" However, all the Directory could do to gain
" over the saloons of Paris proved of no avail; it
" did not succeed in acquiring any influence over
" them, and the Bourbon party was gaining ground.
" The Directors no sooner perceived this than they
" hastily retraced their steps; but it was too late
" to recover the good will of the republicans whom
" they had estranged from themselves by their
" conduct. This led to a system of wavering
" which looked like caprice, no course was laid
" down to steer by, no object was kept in view, no
" unity prevailed. The reigns of terror and of
" royalty were equally objected to; but in the
" mean time the road which was to lead to the
" goal was left untried. The Directory thought to
" put an end to this state of uncertainty and avoid
" these perpetual waverings, by striking at one
" blow the two extreme parties, whether they had
" deserved it or not: if therefore a royalist who
" had conspired or disturbed the public tranquillity
" was arrested by their orders, they caused a re-
" publican, innocent or guilty, to be arrested at
" the same moment. This system was nicknamed
" *The Political Seesaw*, but the injustice and fraud
" which characterized it entirely discredited the

"government; every heart was closed; the govern-
"ment became one of lead. Every true and gene-
"rous feeling was against the Directory.

"Men of business, jobbers and intriguers, by pos-
"sessing themselves of the springs of government,
"acquired the greatest influence; all places were
"given to worthless individuals, to *protégés*, or to
"relations—corruption crept into every branch of
"the administration; this was soon perceived, and
"those who had it in their power to waste the
"public money could act without fear; the foreign
"relations, the armies, the finances, the depart-
"ment of the interior, all felt the pernicious effects
"of a system so defective. This state of things
"soon gathered a storm on the political horizon,
"and led by rapid strides to the crisis of Fructidor.

"At that period the measures of the Directory
"were weak, capricious and uncertain; emigrants
"returned to France, and newspapers, paid by fo-
"reigners, dared openly to stigmatize the most
"deserving of our patriots. The fury of the ene-
"mies of our national glory exasperated the sol-
"diers of the army of Italy, which declared itself
"loudly against them; whilst the councils, in their
"turn, acting the parts of real counter-revolution-
"ists, spoke of nothing but priests, bells, and emi-
"grants—all the officers of the army who had
"distinguished themselves more or less in the de-
"partments, in the battalions of volunteers, or
"even in the regiments of the line, feeling them-

"selves thus attacked in their dearest interests, "inflamed more and more the anger of their sol- "diers—the minds of all parties were in a state of "effervescence. In a moment of such violent agi- "tation what measures could the General of the "army of Italy adopt? he had the choice of three:

"1st. To side with the preponderating party in "the Councils—but it was too late; the army had "pronounced itself, and the leaders of that party, "the orators of the Council, by attacking inces- "santly both the General and his army, had not "left him the possibility of adopting that reso- "lution.

2dly. "To embrace the party of the Directory "and of the Republic. That was the plainest "course, that which duty pointed out, which the "army inclined to, and that in which he was "already engaged; for all the writers who had "remained faithful to the cause of the revolution "had declared themselves, of their own accord, "the ardent defenders and warm advocates of the "army and its commanders.

3dly. "To overpower both factions, by step- "ping forward boldly and appearing openly in "the contest as regulator of the republic. But "notwithstanding the strength which Napoleon "felt that he derived from the support of the "army, although his character was highly es- "teemed in France, he did not think that the "spirit of the times, and public opinion were such

"as to allow him to take so daring a step. And "besides, if this third measure had been that to "which he secretly inclined, he could not have "adopted it immediately, and without having "previously sided with one of the two parties, "which appeared at that moment in the political "lists. It was absolutely necessary, even in or- "der to form a third party, to side first either with "the councils or with the Directory.

"Thus of the three measures to be adopted, "the third in its execution merged into the "two first, and he was entirely debarred from "adopting the first of these two by the new for- "mation of the councils, and by the attacks al- "ready made upon him by them.

"These considerations and conclusions, the "Emperor observed, were the natural result of "a deep meditation upon the then existing state "of affairs in France. The General had there- "fore nothing to do but to let events take their "course, and second the impulse of his troops. "And this view of the subject produced the pro- "clamation to the army of Italy, and the far "famed order of the day of its General.

"'Soldiers! he said, I know that your hearts "are full of grief at the calamities of our coun- "try; but if it were possible that foreign armies "should triumph, we would fly from the summit "of the alps with the rapidity of the eagle, to

" defend once more that cause which has already
" cost us so much blood.'

" These words decided the question, the sol-
" diers in ecstasy were for marching at once upon
" Paris. The noise of the event spread immedi-
" diately to the capital, and produced a most
" powerful sensation. The Directory, which every
" body considered as lost, which the moment before
" was tottering alone and abandoned, found itself
" at once supported by public opinion; it imme-
" diately assumed the attitude, and followed the
" course of a triumphant party, and defeated all
" its enemies.

" The General of the army of Italy had sent
" the proclamation to his soldiers to the Direc-
" tory by Augereau, because he was a Parisian and
" strongly pronounced in favour of the prevailing
" notions of the day.

" Nevertheless, the politicians of the day made
" the following surmises: What would Napoleon
" have done if the councils had triumphed; if that
" faction, instead of being overthrown, had, on
" the contrary, overthrown the Directory? In that
" case, it appears, that he was determined to
" march upon Lyons and Mirbel with fifteen
" thousand men, where he would have been joined
" by all the republicans from the south and from
" Burgundy. The victorious council would not
" have been more than three or four days without

"coming to some violent rupture and division; for
"it is known, that if the numbers of these councils
"were unanimous in their proceedings against the
"Directory, they were far from being so as to the
"further course they meant to pursue. The lead-
"ers, such as Pichegru, Imbert-Colomès, and
"others, sold to foreign powers, exerted all their
"influence to restore royalty and bring about a
"counter-revolution, whilst Carnot and others
"sought to produce results quite opposite to
"these. France would therefore have become
"immediately a prey to confusion and anarchy,
"and in that case, all factions would have seen
"with satisfaction, Napoleon appear as a rallying
"point, an anchor of safety, capable of saving
"them at the same time from the terrors of roy-
"alty, and from the terrors of demagogues. Na-
"poleon would then naturally have repaired to
"Paris, and found himself placed at the head of
"affairs by the unanimous wish and consent of all
"parties. The majority of the councils was strong
"and positive, it is true, but it was only against
"the Directors; it would divide *ad infinitum* as
"soon as they were overturned.

"The choice of three new Directors having
"openly exposed the true intention of the mea-
"sures of the counter-revolution, the greatest
"number of the citizens, in their alarm, were
"ready to fly to meet Napoleon with the national

"oriflamme* unfurled; for the true counter-revolu-
"tionists were after all few in number, and their
"pretensions were too ridiculous and absurd.
"Every thing would have given way before Napo-
"leon. Had they called him Cæsar or Cromwell,
"still he proceeded supported by a religion, and a
"party whose ideas were settled and popular; he
"was master of his soldiers, the coffers of the
"army were full, and he was in possession of every
"other means calculated to ensure their constancy
"and their fidelity; if the question were now to
"be decided whether Napoleon, in the secret of
"his own mind, would, or would not have wished
"affairs to take this turn, we should give our
"opinion in the affirmative; and we are led to be-
"lieve from the following fact, that his wishes and
"his hopes were in favour of the triumph of the
"majority of the councils. At the moment of the
"crisis between the two factions, a secret decree
"signed by the three members composing the
"party of the Directory, asked him for three mil-
"lions to resist the attack of the councils; but
"Napoleon, under various pretences, did not send
"them, although it would have been easy for him
"to do so; yet it is well known that his dispo-
"sition did not allow him to hesitate in money
"matters.

* The *oriflamme* was a flag which was carried before the kings of France.

"Therefore, when the struggle was over, and "the Directory took pleasure in acknowledging "openly that it owed its existence to Napoleon, "it still entertained some vague suspicions that "Napoleon had only espoused its party in the hopes "of seeing it overthrown, and of taking its place.

"Be that as it may, after the 18th Fructidor, the "enthusiasm of the army was at its height, and the "triumph of Napoleon complete. But the Direc- "tory, notwithstanding its apparent gratitude, sur- "rounded Napoleon from that moment with nu- "merous agents, who watched over his motions "and endeavoured to penetrate the secrets of his "thoughts.

"The situation of Napoleon was one of extreme "delicacy, although his conduct was so well regu- "lated and so admirable, that even at this period "we can only form mere conjectures on the sub- "ject; but to the delicacy of his situation it is that "we think we can trace the principal reasons which "led to the conclusion of the peace at Campo "Formio, to his refusal to remain at the Congress "of Rastadt, and finally, to the undertaking of the "expedition to Egypt.

"As it always happens in France, immediately "after the 18 Fructidor, the party that had been "overthrown disappeared on a sudden, and the "majority of the Directory triumphed without "moderation. It became every thing, and re- "duced the councils to nothing.

"Napoleon then felt the necessity of peace, "which, putting an end to the present state of af- "fairs, would enhance his popularity: he had "every thing to fear from the prolongation of "war; it might furnish, to those who might have "suspected him, pretexts to injure him with fa- "cility; or the intention might be, to expose him "in situations of difficulty, and unite the other ge- "nerals against him.

"Two of the generals who enjoyed the greatest "reputation at that time, manifested openly the "nature of their dispositions with respect to the "great affair of Fructidor: these were Moreau and "Hoche.

"Moreau had declared himself positively against "the Directory, and, by a line of conduct at once "pusillanimous and culpable, he failed in his duty "and compromised his honour.

"Hoche was entirely in favour of the Directory, "impelled by the impetuosity of his disposition, "he marched part of his army upon Paris, and "failed by acting with too much precipitation. "His troops were countermanded by the influence "of the Councils, and he himself was obliged to "leave Paris to avoid being arrested by order of "these said Councils. Hoche had therefore done "nothing to contribute to the success of the 18th "Fructidor, on the contrary he had injured the "cause by an excess of zeal. But he had shown "himself a man entirely devoted to the Directory,

"and the majority of them could trust in him "without reserve, although his imprudence had "nearly been the cause of their ruin.

"That same majority of the Directory enter- "tained doubts, on the contrary, with respect to "Napoleon, who had been the cause of their triumph; "they still thought it possible that the General of "the army of Italy had calculated that the Direc- "tory would fall in the contest with the Councils, "and that he might then rise upon its ruins.

"But how could the Directory reconcile that "supposition with the acts of the General who had "done every thing to ensure its triumph? for it is "evident that without the order of the day of Na- "poleon, and the address to his army, the Direc- "tory was lost.

"Some persons, well informed on the subject, "seem to think that Napoleon had really not "formed a due estimate of the influence he exer- "cised in France—that he had suffered himself to "be misled by the libels and the newspapers di- "rected against him — and that he had consi- "dered the measures which he adopted calcu- "lated not to ensure the complete triumph of the "Directory, but to produce precisely the effect of "rendering him the deliverer and the true support "of the republic. The same persons add, that when "the officers whom Napoleon had at Paris, and "letters from every part of France, had informed "him that his proclamation had in one moment

"changed altogether the state of public feeling in "the interior, then, and then only he saw that he had "gone too far. We are the more ready to adopt "that opinion, as we cannot understand why Na- "poleon should have thought of preserving three "Directors whom he did not care about. The "only one he esteemed (Carnot) was of the oppo- "site party, and we know that he felt indignant at "the corruption and weakness of the others.

"A man by the name of Bottot, a private agent "of Barras was sent to Napoleon with secret in- "structions, to endeavour to penetrate his views, "and ascertain why he had not sent the three "millions of which the Directory had stood so "much in need! Bottot found the French Ge- "neral at Passeriano, and began to intrigue right "and left with those who surrounded Napo- "leon; but he found every one warmly attached "to the party that had triumphed; and having "some concerns of his own to arrange, he at last, "in the course of some private conversations, con- "fessed the secret of his mission and the vague "suspicions entertained by the Directory. He "had been soon disabused by the appearance of "simplicity which distinguished Napoleon's esta- "blishment, by the frankness of Napoleon him- "self; and above all by the enthusiasm of the "army, and of the whole of Italy in favour of the "General. But even if the suspicion of the Di- "rectory had been founded, it would not have

"been difficult, with a few marks of attention, "and some frank and unaffected conversations, to "remove from Bottot's mind, surrounded as he "then was, all cause of umbrage.

"He wrote to Paris that the fears that had been "entertained were altogether groundless, and "much less to be dreaded than the perverseness of "those who wished to inspire them—but the three "millions, it was objected to him, why were they "refused? Napoleon had proved that the order "sent by the Directory was mysterious and irre-"gular, and, that encompassed as it was by such "rogues as F—— and others who had already "plundered the public treasure, he had thought "it prudent to ascertain the truth; that he had "immediately dispatched Lavalette his confiden-"tial aid-de-camp to Paris, and that as soon as "Lavalette had informed him of the true state of "affairs, he had prepared three millions, and was "on the point of sending them when the fate of "the day was decided."

English diplomacy.—Lord Whitworth.—Chatham—Castlereagh.—Cornwallis.—Fox, &c.

Monday 10th.—The course of our conversation to day led the Emperor to observe, that nothing was so dangerous and so treacherous as official conversations with diplomatical agents of Great Britain. "The English Ministers," said he, "never "represent an affair as from their nation to ano-

"ther, but as from themselves to their own nation. "They care little what their adversaries have said "or say; they boldly put forward what their di- "plomatical agents have said, or what they make "them say, on the grounds that those agents "having a public and acknowledged character, "faith must be placed in their reports. It is in "pursuance of this principle, Napoleon added, "that the English Ministers published at the time, "under the name of Lord Whitworth, a long con- "versation between me and Whitworth, the ac- "count of which was entirely false."*

That ambassador had demanded an audience of the First Consul, and to hold conferences with him personally. The First Consul, who was himself fond of treating affairs directly, willingly assented. "But this proved for me," said the Emperor, "a "lesson which altered my method for ever. From "this moment I never treated officially, of poli- "tical affairs, but through the intervention of my "minister for Foreign Affairs. He at any rate "could give a positive and formal denial; which "the sovereign could not do.

* We who have been at St. Helena, we who have seen and been concerned in the facts alledged by Lord Bathurst, before the parliament of Great Britain, we all can affirm before God and mankind, that the British Ministers have on that occasion fully deserved the just reproaches which they incurred at the time of Lord Whitworth. Many Englishmen who were then at St. Helena, have acknowledged it to us, and have confessed that they blushed for their country!!

"It is utterly false," added the Emperor, "that "any thing occurred in the course of our per- "sonal interview, which was not in conformity "with the common rules of decorum. Lord Whit- "worth himself after our conference, being in "company with other Ambassadors, expressed "himself perfectly satisfied, and added, that he "had no doubt all things would be satisfactorily "settled. But what was the surprise of those "same Ambassadors when they read a short time "after in the English newspapers the report of "Lord Whitworth, in which he charged me with "having behaved in the interview with unbecoming "violence? We had some warm friends amongst "these Ambassadors, and some of them went "so far as to express their surprise to the English "diplomatist, observing to him that his report "was very different from what he had said to "them immediately after the conference. Lord "Whitworth made the best excuse he could, but "persisted in maintaining the assertions of the "official document.

"The fact is," said the Emperor, "that every "political agent of Great Britain is in the habit of "making two reports on the same subject; one "public and false for the ministerial archives, the "other confidential and true for the Ministers "themselves, and for them alone; and when the "responsibility of Ministers is at stake, they pro- "duce the first of these documents, which, al-

"though false, answers every purpose, and serves "to exonerate them. And thus it is," added the Emperor, "that the best institutions become "vicious, when they are no longer founded on "morality, and when their agents are only ac- "tuated by selfishness, pride, and insolence. Abso- "lute power has no need of disguise; it is silent; "responsible governments, when obliged to speak, "have recourse to artifice, and lie with effron- "tery.

"It is, however, a circumstance worthy of re- "mark, that in my great struggle with England, "the government of that country has constantly "contrived to attach so much odium to my per- "son and actions; and that they have so im- "pudently exclaimed against my despotism, my "selfishness, my ambition, and my perfidy, when "they alone were guilty of all they dared to lay "to my charge. A very strong prejudice must "have existed against me, I must have been in- "deed very much to be feared, since people could "suffer themselves to be thus deceived. I can "understand it from Kings and Cabinets, their "existence was at stake; but from the people!!..

"The British Ministers spoke incessantly of my "duplicity; but could any thing be compared to "their machiavelism, their selfishness, during the "existence of disorders and convulsions, which "were kept alive by them?

"They sacrificed unfortunate Austria in 1805,

"merely to escape the invasion with which I "threatened them.

"They sacrificed her again in 1809, to be more "at liberty to act in the Peninsula.

"They sacrified Prussia in 1806, in the hopes "of recovering Hanover.

"They did not assist Russia in 1807, because "they preferred to go and seize upon distant colo- "nies, and because they were attempting to take "possession of Egypt.

"They gave to the world the infamous spectacle "of bombarding Copenhagen in full peace, and "lying in ambush to steal the Danish fleet. "They had already once before exhibited a similar "spectacle by seizing, like highway robbers, also "in full peace, four Spanish frigates laden with "rich treasures.

"Lastly, during the war in the Peninsula, where "they endeavoured to prolong the existence of "of anarchy and confusion, their principal care "was to traffic with the wants and the blood of "the Spanish nation, by obliging it to purchase "their services and their supplies at the expense "of gold and concessions.

"Whilst all Europe through their intrigues and "their subsidies was bathed in blood, they were "only intent upon providing for their own safety, "gaining advantages for their trade, and obtaining "the sovereignty of the sea, and the monopoly of "the world. As for myself I had never done any

"thing of the kind, and until the unfortunate busi-
"ness with Spain, which after all is not to be
"compared to the affair of Copenhagen, I can say
"that my morality is unimpeachable. My actions
"had perhaps been dictatorial and peremptory,
"but never disgraced by perfidy. Who can be
"surprised after all this, if in 1814, although Eng-
"land had really been the deliverer of Europe,
"not a single Englishman could show himself on
"the Continent without meeting at every step with
"maledictions, hatred, and execrations? Who
"can ask how this happened? Every tree bears
"its own fruit; we reap only what we have sown;
"and such was necessarily the infallible result of
"the misdeeds of the English Government, the
"tyranny and the insolence of the Ministers in
"London, and of their agents all over the globe.

"For the last fifty years the administrations of
"Great Britain have gradually declined in con-
"sideration and in public estimation. Formerly
"they were disputed by great national parties,
"characterised by grand and distinct systems;
"but now we see only the bickerings of one and
"the same oligarchy, having constantly the same
"object in view, and whose discordant members
"adjust their differences by compromise and con-
"cessions: they have turned the Cabinet of St.
"James's into a shop.

"The policy of Lord Chatham was marked by
"acts of injustice, no doubt; but at least he pro-

"claimed them with boldness and energy, they had "a certain air of grandeur. Pitt introduced into the "Cabinet a system of hypocrisy and dissimulation. "Lord Castlereagh, the self-styled heir of Pitt, has "brought into it the extreme of every kind of tur- "pitude and immorality. Chatham gloried in being "a merchant; Lord Castlereagh, to the serious in- "jury of his nation, has indulged himself in the "satisfaction of acting the fine *gentleman*; he has "sacrificed his country to fraternise with the great "people of the continent, and from that moment "has united in his person the vices of the saloon "with the cupidity of the counting-house; the "duplicity and obsequiousness of the courtier with "the haughtiness and insolence of the upstart. The "poor English constitution is in imminent danger. "What a difference between such men, and the "Foxes, Sheridans and Greys, those great talents, "those noble characters of the opposition, who "have been the objects of the ridicule of a victo- "rious oligarchy!

"Lord Cornwallis," said the Emperor, "is the "first Englishman that gave me, in good earnest, "a favourable opinion of his nation; after him "Fox, and I might add to these, if it were neces- "sary, our present Admiral (Malcolm).

"Cornwallis was, in every sense of the word, a "worthy, good and honest man. At the time of "the treaty of Amiens, the terms having been "agreed upon, he had promised to sign the next

" day at a certain hour: something of consequence
" detained him at home, but he pledged his word.
" The evening of that same day, a courier arrived
" from London proscribing certain articles of the
" treaty, but he answered that he had signed, and
" immediately came and actually signed. We
" understood each other perfectly well; I had
" placed a regiment at his disposal, and he took
" pleasure in seeing its *manœuvres*. I have pre-
" served an agreeable recollection of him in
" every respect, and it is certain that a request
" from him would have had more weight with me,
" perhaps, than one from a crowned head. His
" family appears to have guessed this to be the
" case; some requests have been made to me in
" its name, which have all been granted.

" Fox came to France immediately after the
" peace of Amiens. He was employed in writing
" a history of the Stuarts, and asked my permis-
" sion to search our diplomatical archives. I
" gave orders that every thing should be placed at
" his disposal. I received him often. Fame had
" informed me of his talents, and I soon found
" that he possessed a noble character, a good heart,
" liberal, generous and enlightened views. I con-
" sidered him an ornament to mankind, and was
" very much attached to him. We often con-
" versed together, upon various topics without the
" least prejudice; when I wished to engage in a
" little controversy, I turned the conversation

"upon the subject of the *machine infernale*; and "told him that his ministers had attempted to "murder me; he would then oppose my opinion "with warmth, and invariably ended the con- "versation by saying, in his bad French, *First "Consul, pray take that out of your head.* But "he was not convinced of the truth of the cause "he undertook to advocate, and there is every "reason to believe that he argued more in defence "of his country, than of the morality of its mi- "nisters."

The Emperor ended the conversation, by say- ing: "Half a dozen such men as Fox and Corn- "wallis would be sufficient to establish the moral "character of a nation. . .With such men I should "always have agreed; we should soon have set- "tled our differences, and not only France would "have been at peace with a nation at bottom "most worthy of esteem, but we should have done "great things together."

History of the Convention by Lacretelle.—Statistical Notice of the Oxen of the Island.—Puns.—Statistics in general.

Tuesday 11.—The wind and rain had rendered the weather horrible. The Emperor, about three o'clock, took advantage of a short interval to visit the garden. He sent for me, and had just read the history of the Convention by Lacretelle. It was, he observed, certainly not ill-written; but it

was ill-digested, and made no impression on the memory; the whole was a smooth surface without a single asperity to arrest attention. He did not thoroughly examine his subject: he did not do justice to many celebrated characters; he did not give an adequate colouring to the crimes of several others, &c.

The rain obliged us to return, and we walked alone for a long time in the saloon and the dining room.

We had been informed, that there were four thousand oxen in the island, and that the annual consumption consisted of five hundred, of which number one hundred and fifty were appropriated to us, fifty to the colony, and three hundred to the shipping. It was added, that four years were requisite for the reproduction of the stock, and this formed a subject for our calculations; an employment for which the Emperor's peculiar taste is well known.

The subsistence and consumption of these oxen constitute a great portion of the public interest in the island. A single beast cannot be killed without the previous order of the governor, and it was stated by one of our people, that the owner of one of the houses or huts of the island, speaking to him on the subject, said: "It is reported, that you complain up yonder, and consider yourselves unhappy; (he spoke of Longwood) but we are at a loss to make it out; for it is said that you have

beef every day, while we cannot get it but three or four times a year, and even then we pay for it at the rate of fifteen or twenty pence a pound." The Emperor, who laughed heartily at the story, observed, "You ought to have assured him, that it "cost us several *crowns*." *Crowns* in English, and in several languages of the continent, means also a piece of money.

I observed latterly, that it was the only pun I had till then heard from the Emperor's mouth, but the person to whom I made the remark, said he had heard of his having made a similar one, and on the same subject in the isle of Elba. A mason employed in some buildings, which were to be constructed by the Emperor's order, had fallen and hurt himself; the Emperor wishing to encourage him, assured him, that it would be of no consequence. "I have had," said he, "a much worse "fall than yours; but look at me, I am on my legs, "and in good health."

The Emperor's attention was for a moment directed to *political statistics*. He highly extolled the progress and utility of that new science, so well adapted, he observed, to point out the path of truth, to establish judgment, and confirm decision. He called it the *budget of things*, and "without the "budget," he declared in a pleasant tone, "there "is no safety."

The singular application of the science by an Englishman or German, who had the patience and

resolution, to ascertain the number of times each letter of the alphabet occurred in the Bible, was then noticed by a person present. He also mentioned another application of it, less dull, but not less singular. It was that made by a German, eighty years of age, who amused himself with calculating what he might have eaten, during his life, in beef, mutton, poultry, vegetables, &c. &c. as well as what he had drunk. The estimate comprehended immense droves, flocks, and accumulations of all sorts. The public market place was incapable of containing all he had devoured. This minute applicant of the science did not stop there. He had the curiosity to inquire how often he might have again swallowed the same things. For, he judiciously observed, their transmutation in his person ought necessarily to have contributed to their reproduction. The Emperor laughed much at the calculation, and more particularly at the whimsical repetition of the same eatables.

Characters. Bailli, Lafayette, Monges, Grégoire, &c.—St. Domingo.—System to be followed.—Dictations on the Convention.

June 12th.—We have had three days of horrible weather, when a moment that promised to continue fine, induced the Emperor to take an airing in his carriage. He had just finished reading the History of the Constituent Assembly, by Rabeau de St. Etienne. He entertained very nearly the same opi-

nion of this writer, as of Lacretelle. He then took occasion to notice several characters. "Bailli," he said, "was not a bad man, but unquestionably "a miserable politician."

"Lafayette was another simpleton, and by no "means formed for the eminent character he wished "to represent. His political simplicity was such, "that he could not avoid being the constant dupe "of men and things.

"All was lost on my return from Waterloo, by "his insurrection of the chambers. Who could have "persuaded him, that I had arrived merely for the "purpose of dissolving them;—I, whose only safety "was centred in them?"*

One of the party saying, by way of excuse or extenuation; "It was, however, sire, the same man, "who, treating afterwards with the allies, was filled "with indignation at their proposal of delivering up "your Majesty, and eagerly asked, if it was to the "prisoner of Olmutz, they dared to address themselves?"—"But, sir," replied the Emperor, "You "run from one subject to another, or rather, you "concur with, instead of opposing my opinion. I "have not attacked the sentiments or intentions of "M. de Lafayette; I have only complained of their "fatal results."

The Emperor then continued, in the same way, to review the leading men of that period. He

* See note of the third part.

dwelt at considerable length on the affair of Favras, &c.

"Besides," observed the Emperor, "Nothing "was more common, than to find men of that epoch "quite the reverse in character of that which their "words and actions seemed to establish. *Monges*, "for instance, might be considered a terrible man. "When war was resolved upon, he declared from "the tribune of the Jacobins, that he would give his "two daughters in marriage to the two first soldiers "who might be wounded by the enemy. This he "was at liberty to do, in the strict sense of the gift, "as far as it respected himself; but he maintained, "that others should be compelled to follow his ex-"ample, and that all the nobility should be put to "death, &c. Yet, Monges was one of the mildest "and weakest men living, and would not allow a "chicken to be killed, if he were obliged to do it "himself, or to see it done. This furious republi-"can, as he believed himself, cherished, however, "a kind of worship for me, which he pushed to ado-"ration. He loved me, as one loves his mistress.

"*Grégoire*, whose animosity to the clergy, "whom he wished to bring back to their original "simplicity, was so great that he might have passed "for a champion of irreligion, may be mentioned as "another instance; yet Grégoire, when the revolu-"tionists were denying their God and abolishing "the priesthood, was very nearly being massacred "in mounting the tribune for the purpose of boldly

"declaring his religious sentiments, and protesting "that he would die a priest. At the very moment "when the work of destruction was going on in all "the churches against the altars, Grégoire erected "one in his own apartment, and said mass there "every day. This man's lot, however, is decidedly "cast. If he be driven from France, he must take "refuge in Saint-Domingo. The friend, the advo- "cate, the eulogist of the negroes will be a god, "or a saint among them."

Saint-Domingo naturally became the next subject of our conversation. I had, in my younger days, seen that colony in its most flourishing state. The Emperor put many questions to me, and made himself acquainted with all the circumstances relating to that remote period. When his enquiries were over, he said, "I shall, no doubt, astonish "you; but I am convinced, even from your own "statements, that the island has not, at this mo- "ment, lost a third, certainly not one half of its "value, and that, in a short time, it will recover all "its former prosperity."

I should not, in reality, be surprised at it; for all the absurd stories, circulated in Europe respecting France, ought to put us on our guard against those which might be safely told with regard to Saint-Domingo.

The Emperor said, that after the restoration, the French government had sent out emissaries and proposals, which were laughed at by the negroes.

"As to myself," he added, "on my return from "the isle of Elba, I would have settled all differences "with them; I would have recognized their inde- "pendence, contented myself with some factories, "like those on the coast of Africa, endeavoured to "draw them closer to the mother country, and es- "tablish a kind of family commerce with them, "which might, in my opinion, have been easily "accomplished."

"I have to reproach myself with the attempt "made upon the colony during the consulship. The "design of reducing it by force was a great error. "I ought to have been satisfied with governing it "through the medium of Toussaint. Peace with "England was not sufficiently consolidated, and the "territorial wealth I should have acquired by its re- "duction would have served but to enrich our ene- "mies." He had, he observed, the greater reason to reproach himself with the attempt, because he had foreseen its failure, and it was executed against his inclination. He had solely yielded to the opinion of the council of state and his ministers, hurried along, as they are, by the clamours of the colonists, who formed a considerable party at Paris, and were, besides, he said, either nearly all royalists, or in the pay of the English faction.

The Emperor assured us, that the army which had been sent out, consisted but of sixteen thousand men, and was quite sufficient. The failure of the expedition was solely to be attributed to accidental

circumstances, such as the yellow fever, the death of the Commander-in-chief, a new war, &c. &c.

"Toussaint," observed the Emperor, "was not "a man destitute of merit; but he certainly was not "so highly gifted as was attempted in his time to "describe him. His character, besides, was ill cal-"culated to inspire real confidence; he had given us "serious causes of complaint. It would have been "necessary to be always distrustful of his sincerity. "He was chiefly guided by an officer of engineers or "artillery. That officer had come to France before "Leclerc's expedition, and conferences were, for a "long time, held with him. He exerted himself "very much to prevent the attempt, and described "with great precision, all its difficulties, without "pretending, however, that it was impossible." The Emperor thought that the Bourbons might succeed in reducing Saint-Domingo by force; but on that subject the result of arms was not to be calculated upon; it was rather the result of commerce and of grand political views. Three or four hundred millions of capital swept away from France to a remote country; an indefinite period for reaping the fruits of such a sacrifice; the very great certainty of seeing them engrossed by the English, or swallowed up by revolutions, &c. &c.: those were the points for consideration. The Emperor concluded with saying, "The colonial system, "which we have witnessed, is closed for us, as well "as the whole continent of Europe; we must give

"it up, and henceforth confine ourselves to the free "navigation of the seas, and the complete liberty "of universal barter."

The history of the Convention, of which Napoleon had already expressed his disapprobation, again presented itself to his thoughts; he was far from being satisfied with Lacretelle. "Sentences in "abundance," he repeated, "and but little colour- "ing; no depth; he is an academician, but, in no "respect, an historian." He made me call my son, and dictated the two following notes, of which I give a literal copy, however imperfect they may be, for he never read them a second time.

NOTE I.

"The Convention, called together by a law of the Legislative Assembly to form a new constitution for France, decreed the Republic; not that the most enlightened did not think the republican system incompatible with the existing state of manners in France, but because the Monarchy could not be continued without placing the Duke of Orleans on the throne, which would have alienated a great part of the nation.

"An executive power, consisting of five ministers, was established by the Convention for conducting the affairs of the republic.

"Two parties contended for the ascendancy in the National Convention; that of the *Girondists*,

composed of men who had influenced the Legislative Assembly, and that of the *Mountain*, formed by the Commune of Paris, which had directed the atrocities of the 10th of August and the 2d of September, and commanded the population of the capital.

"Vergniaud, Brissot, Condorcet, Guadet, and Roland, were the leaders of the Girondists; Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Collot d'Herbois, and Billaud-Varennes, headed the Mountain. These two parties were alike indebted for their rise to the principles of the revolution. Their conductors sprang out of the popular societies which they had successively rendered subservient to their views.

"The party of the Girondists was more powerful in talents, and was eminently popular in the great provincial towns, particular at Bourdeaux, Montpelier, Marseilles, Caen, Lyons, &c.

"The party of the Mountain possessed more energy and enthusiasm, and was no less popular in the capital and among the clubs of the departments.

"The Girondist party, which, in the Legislative Assembly, had been the most ardent for the Revolution, became, in the Convention, the most moderate; because it had to contend there with a faction much more violent than itself, which had not found its way into the assembly.

"The Girondists called their adversaries the faction of September, and constantly reproached them with the horrible massacre of which they were

guilty. They accused them of being hostile to every kind of national assembly, and of endeavouring to transfer the government of France to the Commune of Paris; but by these means the Girondists only excited against themselves the Jacobins of all the departments.

"On its side, the Commune of Paris (the Mountaineers) stigmatized the Girondists by the name of the federalists, and charged them with the design of establishing a federative system in France similar to that of Switzerland. They also accused them of endeavouring to stir up the provinces against the capital, and thus held them up to the detestation of the people of Paris, which could maintain its splendour only by the union and unity of the whole of the territory. When the Girondists inveighed against the Mountaineers for the massacres of the 2d of September, the latter reproached the former with having, during the Legislative Assembly, rashly and without cause, declared war against all Europe.

"The Girondists, at first, appeared to have the upper hand in the Convention, and they directed that Marat should be brought to trial, and that proceedings should be instituted against the assassins of September. But Marat, supported by the Jacobins and the Commune of Paris, was acquitted by the revolutionary tribunal, and returned in triumph to the bosom of the assembly.

"The trial of the King had been another apple

of discord. The two parties seemed to proceed in unison, and voted, it is true, for his death; but the greater part of the Girondists also voted for an appeal to the people; and here it is difficult to comprehend the reason of their conduct during that crisis. If they wished to save the king, they were at liberty to do so; they had only to vote for deportation, exile, or the adjournment of the question; but to sentence him to death and make his fate depend upon the will of the people, was, in the highest degree, absurd and impolitic. They seemed to be desirous, that after the extinction of the monarchy, France should be torn to pieces by civil war.

"The general opinion since the commencement of the revolution, that the most audacious and unreasonable faction would always predominate, was from that moment verified. The Girondists, however, maintained the contest with courage, and very often had majorities in the assembly during all the months of March, April, and May. But the party of the Mountaineers had recourse, in these circumstances, to an expedient which it had constantly employed. On the 31st of May, the fate of the Girondists was decided by an insurrection of the sections of Paris. Twenty-seven were arrested, brought before the revolutionary tribunal, and sentenced to death; seventy-three were thrown into prison, and from that period the triumphant Mountain had no obstacles to

surmount in the Convention. Several Girondist deputies took refuge, however, at Caen, and there raised the standard of insurrection. Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Montpellier, and several towns of Brittany embraced the cause of this party, and also took up arms against the Convention.

"All these unconnected efforts were of no avail against the capital, and the Mountain remained in tranquil possession of the national tribune. A circumstance altogether singular contributed to confirm the preponderance of Paris. It was the assignats, then the only resource for supplying the treasury; not a single tax was then paid.

"The provinces learnt with considerable emotion the event of the 31st of May, and the death of the most celebrated characters of the Girondist party. The armies were not agitated by these results, they took no share in the insurrections of some provinces, and remained all attached to the Convention and the dominant party at Paris.

"When the partial insurrection of certain towns in favour of the Girondists was known, all the armies had already taken the oath and testified their adhesion to the Mountain; besides, in the eyes of Frenchmen, Paris was France. Neither did the departments of Alsace, la Moselle, la Flandre, la Franche Comté, and Dauphiné, where the principal forces of the republic are quartered, sympathize with the feelings of the federalist towns.

"The 31st of May deprived France of men of great talents, zealously attached to liberty and the principles of the revolution. The catastrophe might afflict the well disposed, but could not surprize them. It was impossible for an assembly, which had extricated France from the critical situation to which she was reduced, to carry on public business with two parties so inveterately and irreconcileably opposed. It was necessary for the safety of the republic, that one should extinguish the other, and there can be no doubt, that, had the Girondists obtained the victory, they would have consigned their adversaries to the scaffold."

The Emperor who had dictated, in his usual way, from memory alone without any research, whether he was little satisfied with the task he had executed, or for some other reason, stopped here for the purpose, as he said, of recommencing a new dictation on the same subject.

NOTE II.

"The Convention was established in September 1792, and terminated in October 1795. Its reign, which lasted nearly three years, presents four eras.

"The 1st, from its commencement to the 31st of May 1793—epoch of the destruction of the Girondists.

"The 2d, to March 1794—overthrow of the commune of Paris.

"The 3d, to July 1794—fall of Robespierre.

"The 4th to the 14th Vendémiaire (4th October 1795)—installation of the Government of the Directory.

"Its *first era* consisted of eight months, its second of ten, its third of four, its fourth of fourteen. Total, three years.

"During its first era the Convention was constantly divided between the parties of the Mountain and the Gironde.

"Danton, Robespierre, Marat, Collot-d'Herbois, Billaud-Varennes, Carnot, Heraut de Sechelles, were the leaders of the party of the Mountain.

"Brissot, Condorcet, Vergniaud, Guadet, Gensonnè, Péthion, Lasource, Barbaroux, headed the party of the Gironde.

"The two parties were equally hostile to the Bourbons and the royalists.

"The men of the first were distinguished for superior energy, those of the second for superior talents. They were both the partisans of a republican establishment. The Mountaineers were desirous of a Republic for the purpose of destroying what was in existence before the Revolution, both men and things. The Girondists were animated by the infatuation of youthful feeling, which presented at once Athens and Rome to their view,

and brought back the remembrance of sublime antiquity.

"The existence of the Mountaineers may be dated from the time of the Constituent Assembly. They were the firebrands of the clubs so generally known by the name of Jacobin. The insurrection of the Field of Mars was planned by them.

"This party did not obtain admission into the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.

"The Girondists, who predominated in the legislative, were hostile to the constitution of 1794, and to the King. They would not undertake his defence, and suffered him to be sacrificed to the efforts of the Mountain, which, however, was also their enemy. It was the Mountaineers who caused the atrocities of the 20th of June, of the 10th of August, and of the 2d of September; they had then no party in the assembly; but they compelled the Girondists to join them after their victory.

"The *first era* of the Convention presents the struggle of the Girondists and Mountaineers; the Girondists prevailed at that time in consequence of their superior talents, eloquence and their already-acquired reputation. The presidents were nearly all Girondists; they charged the Mountain with the design of destroying the National Assembly, and substituting in its place a Parisian Dictatorship. They also reproached it with the massacre of September, &c. &c.

"The Mountain, in its turn, charged them with

wishing for a federative republic like Switzerland, with being hostile to the capital, and with having, without cause, placed the republic in a state of warfare with the whole of Europe.

" The Mountain had at its command the Jacobins of Paris and the greatest part of the popular societies of the republic; the commune of Paris, the sections, the revolutionary tribunal, and the lower classes of the people of the capital were devoted to its interests.

" The Girondists possessed great influence over the departments in general, and the enlightened part of the nation; their partisans were more numerous among the upper class of society. The Girondists who had occupied the left side in the Legislative Assembly, and had shewn such animosity against the King, the ministers and the right side, or moderate party, were forced to shift places, and become in their turn the right side or moderate party, opposed to the vehement and overbearing Mountain, which henceforth formed the left side.

" The Mountaineers, working on the plan they had adopted under the Constituent Assembly, enlisted all the passions in their service, and demanded, with loud cries, the death of the King. The Girondists might, by openly defending him, have preserved his life; they had recourse to the singular system of condemning him, and after having thus destroyed the monarchy, they wished

the sentence to be confirmed by an appeal to the people; in other words, they wished to destroy France by the horrors of a civil war. This false combination of views opened their ruin—Vergniaud, one of the pillars of their party, pronounced sentence of death upon the King.

"The Girondists were so powerful in the assembly, that several months of labour and several days of insurrection were necessary to destroy their influence in the Convention.

"This party would have governed the Convention and crushed the Mountain, had its system of conduct been more direct and candid. The metaphysicians had too weighty a preponderance in it.

"The *second era* of the Convention is the reign of the Mountain. Twenty-two of the principal Girondists perished on the scaffold, or fell by their own hands; seventy-three were thrown into prison. The Mountain ruled with absolute power; it created the revolutionary government, and the Convention in a mass placed itself, of its own accord, under the yoke of the Committee of Public Safety and of the Revolutionary Tribunal.

"In this second era, the sittings of the Convention no longer resembled those of the first; there was an end of discussion and of liberty; it was the despotism of the Decemvirs. Some of the Deputies governed the Committees of General Security, of Finance, &c. Others were dispatched by the

Committee of Public Safety to the Armies and the Departments, and became real pro-consuls.

"Every month, every week, every day, the government became more ferocious and sanguinary. All those in the higher classes of society who had not emigrated, were heaped together in prison as objects of suspicion, and sent by hundreds to the scaffold.

"After treating in this way every one who was of a noble family, a priest, a merchant, or a considerable proprietor, the excesses of the party recoiling upon itself, it ruled the Jacobins and the Commune of Paris with an iron hand; it enslaved the Convention, and threatened it with absolute annihilation; it preached up Atheism, and proscribed the arts, the sciences, and every species of talent. The artists and men of science were thrown into prison as objects of suspicion, and there was a time when the National Library and the Garden of Plants were on the point of being burnt and laid waste.

"Robespierre and Danton, struck with indignation at these outrages, united their efforts to put a stop to the frightful progress of popular madness. The capuchin Chabot, Bazire, Fabre d'Eglantine, Hebert, Chaumet, Vincent, and all their associates, perished on the scaffold.

"For the first time since the commencement of the Revolution, the people saw persons put to

death as ultra-revolutionary, and no longer as having wished to stop the Revolution. Their ideas were turned up-side down, and underwent a real revolution.

"The prisons were filled with Sans-culottes, and with all that was basest in society. It was remarked, that the apostate priests were numerous in that class.

"The people beheld, without surprise and with joy, the punishment of those who had until then governed them, and that feeling was a revolution, which escaped the observation of Robespierre and Danton, and which they knew not how to convert to their advantage.

"The *third era* presents a spectacle different from the other two. Danton and Robespierre easily stopped the Revolution, and put a period to the power of the Commune of Paris; but after their success they fell out between themselves.

"Danton, Camille des Moulins, Heraut de Sechelles, and Lacroix, were desirous of going a step farther, and putting an end to the assassinations of the Revolutionary Tribunal. Danton and Lacroix had enriched themselves in their mission to Belgium. Camille des Moulins, who, from the beginning of the Revolution had given himself the title of the Attorney-General of the Lanterne, was captivated and softened down by a young wife. They had the boldness to demand, that the blow which had been just struck against Hebert, or the rest of

Marat's party should be turned to the benefit of the whole Republic—that no innocent person should in future be condemned—that the system of terror should be abolished—and that a Committee of Clemency should be established.

"Billaud-Varennes and Collot d'Herbois, who took the lead in the Committee of Public Safety and among the great body of Jacobins, rejected these demands with indignation and fury; and Robespierre, after some hesitation, did not dare to second Danton, and made a sacrifice of him. Danton, Camille des Moulins, Heraut de Sechelles, &c. perished on the scaffold, to which they were dragged by the whole Committee of Public Safety, and by the enraged Jacobins. The people were struck with consternation, and for the first time expressed no sign of satisfaction.

"What Robespierre, however, had not dared to do, and what he could have easily effected had he supported Danton, he had the presumption to undertake after the death of Danton. In order to put a period to Atheism, he caused the existence of God to be proclaimed, and he endeavoured to reinstate the virtues, the sciences and arts. Billaud Varennes, Collot d'Herbois, and Barrere, were struck with horror at seeing the termination of the revolutionary government. They formed a coalition with all the representatives, who, in their missions, had caused the effusion of human blood, and with all the numerous friends whom

Danton had in the Convention, such as Tallien, Fréron, Legendre; and when Robespierre was bold enough to give a glimpse of his plan for suppressing the administration of the pro-consuls, and for the necessity of bringing to justice the base characters, who had rendered the Revolution odious in the provinces, he was consigned to the scaffold.

"The transactions of the 9th Thermidor constituted, in reality, the triumph of Collot d'Herbois and Billaud Varennes, men more horrible and blood thirsty than Robespierre; but that victory could not be obtained over the Jacobins and the commune, but by calling into action the whole of the citizens; so that, with respect to the middling classes and the people, the death of Robespierre was the death of the revolutionary government; and after various oscillations, those who wished to continue the system of terror and had sacrificed Robespierre, as he had sacrificed Danton, because he was desirous of softening down and moderating the revolution, found themselves drawn along with, and governed by, the public opinion.

"During the last ten months, Robespierre frequently complained that he was rendered odious by having all the massacres, which were perpetrated, attributed to him. The men who caused his destruction were more sanguinary and dreadful than he, but the whole nation, which had

for a long time imputed all the assassinations to Robespierre, exclaimed that it was a triumph over tyranny, and that belief put an end to it."

N. B. Here the dictation ended; the Emperor joined in common conversation, and as he never resumed it, we are deprived of the fourth era.

The Moniteur and liberty of the press.

June 13th.—The Emperor had just run over a great many numbers of the Moniteur. "These "Moniteurs," said he, "so terrible and dangerous "to so many reputations are uniformly useful and "favourable to me alone. It is with official docu- "ments that men of sense and real talents will "write history; now, these documents are full of "the spirit of my government, and to them I make "an earnest and solemn appeal." He added, that he had made the Moniteur the soul and life-blood of his government, and that it was the intermediate instrument of his communications with public opinion, both abroad and at home. Every government had since followed his example more or less in that respect. "Whatever serious fault "might be committed by any of the high function- "aries employed in the interior, immediately," said the Emperor, "an enquiry was set on foot by three "Counsellors of State. They made their report to "me, in which they ascertained the facts and dis- "cussed the principles. For my own part I had

"nothing more to do than to write at the bottom "—'*Dispatched for execution according to the "laws of the republic, or of the empire.*' My in- "terference was at an end, the public result ac- "complished, and popular opinion did justice to "the transaction. It was the most formidable and "dreadful of my tribunals. Did any question arise "abroad respecting certain grand political com- "binations or some delicate points of diplomacy? "The objects were indirectly hinted at in the Mo- "niteur. They instantly attracted universal atten- "tion and became the topics of general investi- "gation. This conduct was at once the orderly "signal for the adherents of the throne, and an "appeal for all parties to public opinion. The Mo- "niteur has been reproached for the acrimony and "virulence of its notes against the enemy. But "before we condemn them, we are bound to take "into consideration the benefits they may have "produced, the anxiety with which they occasion- "ally perplexed the enemy, the terror with which "they struck a hesitating cabinet, the stimulus "which they gave to our allies, the confidence and "audacity with which they inspired our troops," &c.

The conversation next turned upon the liberty of the press, and the Emperor asked our opinions. We talked for a long time very idly on the sub- ject, and threw out a great number of common- place ideas. Some were hostile to it. "Nothing,"

said they, "can resist the liberty of the press. It "is capable of overthrowing every government, of "agitating every society, of destroying every repu- "tation." "It is only," observed others, "its pro- "hibition that is dangerous. If it be restricted, it "becomes a mine that must explode, but if left to "itself it is merely an unbent bow, that can inflict "no wound." Here the Emperor observed, that he was far from being convinced with regard to that point, but that it was no longer the question for consideration; that there were institutions at present, and the liberty of the press was among the number, on the excellence of which we were no longer called upon to decide, but solely to determine the possibility of withholding them from the overbearing influence of popular opinion. He declared, that the prohibition under a representative government was a gross anachronism, a downright absurdity. He had, therefore, on his return from the isle of Elba, abandoned the press to all its excesses, and he was well assured, that they had, in no respect, contributed to his recent downfall. When it was proposed in council, in his presence, to discuss the means of sheltering the authority of the State from its attacks, he pleasantly remarked, "Gentlemen, it is probably "yourselves you wish to protect, for, with respect "to me, I shall henceforth continue a stranger to "all such proceedings. The press has exhausted "itself upon me during my absence, and I now

" heartily defy it to produce any thing new or pro-
" voking against me."

The War, and Royal Family of Spain.—Ferdinand at Valencey.—Errors in the Affairs of Spain.—Historical Sketch of these events, &c.—Napoleon's admirable Letter to Murat.

June 14.—The Emperor had been ill the whole of the night, and continued so during the day; he had a bath for his feet, and was not inclined to go out; he dined alone in his apartment and sent for me towards the evening.

The Emperor began the conversation, of which the constant subject was the Spanish war. It has been seen in the notice, which I have already taken of it, that the Emperor took upon himself the whole blame* of the measure. I wish to avoid repetitions as much as possible, and shall, therefore, allude to those topics only which appeared new to me.

" The old King and Queen," said the Emperor, " at the moment of the event, were the objects " of the hatred and contempt of their subjects. " The Prince of Asturias conspired against them, " forced them to abdicate, and at once united in " his own person the love and hopes of the nation. " That nation was, however, ripe for great changes " and demanded them with energy. I enjoyed vast " popularity in the country, and it was in that state " of things that all these personages met at Bay-

* See the third part.

"came; the old king calling upon me for ven-
"geance against his son, and the young prince soli-
"citing my protection against his father, and im-
"ploring a wife at my hands. I resolved to convert
"this singular occasion to my advantage, with the
"view of freeing myself from that branch of the
"Bourbons, of continuing in my own dynasty the
"family system of Louis XIV., and of binding
"Spain to the destinies of France. Ferdinand was
"sent to Valencey, the old king to Marseilles, as
"he wished, and my brother Joseph went to reign
"at Madrid with a liberal constitution, adopted by
"a junta of the Spanish nation, which had come
"to receive it at Bayonne."

"It seems to me," continued he, "that Europe,
"and even France, has never had a just idea of
"Ferdinand's situation at Valencey. There is a
"strange misunderstanding in the world with re-
"spect to the treatment he experienced, and still
"more so, with respect to his wishes and personal
"opinions as to that situation. The fact is, that
"he was scarcely guarded at Valencey, and that
"he did not wish to escape. If any plots were
"contrived to favour his evasion, he was the first
"to make them known. An Irishman, (Baron de
"Colli) gained access to his person, and offered,
"in the name of George the Third to carry him
"off; but Ferdinand, far from embracing the offer,
"instantly communicated it to the proper authority.

"His applications to me for a wife at my hands

"were incessant, He spontaneously wrote to me "letters of congratulation upon every event that "occurred in my favour. He had addressed pro- "clamations to the Spaniards, recommending their "submission; he had recognised Joseph. All these "were circumstances, which might, indeed, have "been considered as forced upon him; but he re- "quested from him the insignia of his grand "order; he tendered to me the services of his "brother, Don Carlos, to take the command of "the Spanish regiments, which were marching to "Russia,—proceedings to which he was, in no re- "spect, obliged. To sum up all, he earnestly soli- "cited my permission to visit my court at Paris, "and if I did not lend myself to a spectacle, "which would have astonished Europe, by display- "ing the full consolidation of my power, it was "because the important circumstances which "called me abroad, and my frequent absence from "the capital, deprived me of the proper oppor- "tunity."

Towards the beginning of a new year, at one of the levees, I happened to be next to the Chamberlain, Count d'Arberg, who had been doing duty at Valencey, near the persons of the princes of Spain. When the Emperor approached, he enquired if these princes conducted themselves with propriety, and added; "You have brought me "a very pretty letter; but between ourselves, it "was you that wrote it for them." D'Arberg

assured him, that he was altogether unacquainted even with the nature of its contents. "Well," said the Emperor, "a son could not write more "cordially to his father."

"When our situation in Spain," observed the Emperor, "turned out dangerous, I more than "once proposed to Ferdinand to return and reign "over his people; that we should openly carry on "war against each other, and that the contest "should be decided by the fate of arms." "No," "answered the prince, who seems to have been "well advised, and never deviated from that way "of thinking. "My country is agitated by poli- "tical disturbances; I should but multiply its em- "barrassments: I might become their victim, and "lose my head upon the scaffold. I remain; but "if you will choose a wife for me; if you will "grant me your protection and the support of your "arms, I shall set out and prove a faithful ally."

"At a later period, during our disasters, and "towards the end of 1813, I yielded to that pro- "posal, and Ferdinand's marriage with Joseph's "eldest daughter was decided; but circumstances "were then no longer the same, and Ferdinand "was desirous that the marriage should be de- "ferred. "You can no longer," he observed, "support me with your arms, and I ought not to "make my wife a title of exclusion in the eyes of "my people." "He left me," continued the Em- peror, "as it seemed, with every intention of

"good faith, for he remained faithful to the prin-
"ciples which he avowed on his departure, until
"the events of Fontainebleau."

The Emperor assured us, that, had the affairs of 1814 turned out differently, he would unquestionably have accomplished his marriage with Joseph's daughter.

The Emperor, in reverting to these affairs, said, that the impolicy of his conduct was irrevocably decided by the results; but that independently of that kind of proof, depending upon consequences, he had to reproach himself with serious faults in the execution of his plans. One of the greatest was that of treating the dethronement of the dynasty of the Bourbons as a matter of importance, and of maintaining, as the basis of his system, for its successor, was precisely the man, who, by his qualities and character, was certain to produce its failure.

During the assembly at Bayonne, Ferdinand's former preceptor and his principal counsellor, (Escoiquiz) at once perceiving the vast projects entertained by the Emperor, and pleading the cause of his master, said to him: "You wish to create for "yourself a kind of Herculean labour, when you "have but child's play in hand. You wish to rid "yourselves of the Bourbons of Spain; why should "you be apprehensive of them? They have ceased "to exist; they are no longer French. You have "nothing to fear from them; they are altogether "aliens with respect to your nation and your man-

"ners. You have here Madame de Montmorency, "and some new ladies of your court; they are not "more acquainted with the one than with the other, "and view them all with equal indifference." The Emperor unfortunately formed a different resolution. I took the liberty of telling him, I had been assured by some Spaniards, that, if the national pride had been respected, and the Spanish junta held at Madrid instead of Bayonne, or even, if Charles IV. had been sent off and Ferdinand retained, the revolution would have been popular, and affairs would have taken another turn. The Emperor entertained no doubt of it, and agreed that the enterprize had been imprudently undertaken, and that many circumstances might have been better conducted. "Charles IV." said he, "was, however, too stale for "the Spaniards. Ferdinand should have been con- "sidered in the same light. The plan most worthy "of me, and the best suited to my project, would "have been a kind of mediation like that of Swit- "zerland. I ought to have given a liberal consti- "tution to the Spanish nation, and charged Ferdi- "nand with its execution. If he acted with good "faith, Spain must have prospered and harmonized "with our new manners. The great object would "have been obtained, and France would have "acquired an intimate ally and an addition of power "truly formidable. Had Ferdinand, on the con- "trary, proved faithless to his new engagements, "the Spaniards themselves would not have failed

"to dismiss him, and would have applied to me "for a ruler in his place. At all events," concluded the Emperor, "that unfortunate war of Spain was "a real affliction, and the first cause of the calami- "ties of France. After my conferences at Erfurth "with Alexander, England ought to have been "compelled to make peace by the force of arms, "or of reason. She had lost the esteem of the "continent; her attack upon Copenhagen had dis- "gusted the public mind, while I distinguished "myself at that moment by every contrary advan- "tage, when that disastrous affair of Spain pre- "sented itself to effect a sudden change against "me and reinstate England in the public estima- "tion. She was enabled, from that moment, to "continue the war; the trade with South America "was thrown open to her; she formed an army "for herself in the peninsula, and next became "the victorious agent, the main point of all the "plots which were hatched on the continent, &c. "&c.—All this effected my ruin.

"I was then assailed with imputations, for which, "however, I had given no cause. History will do "me justice. I was charged in that affair with per- "fidy, with laying snares, and with bad faith, and "yet I was completely innocent. Never, whatever "may have been said to the contrary, have I bro- "ken any engagement, or violated my promise, "either with regard to Spain or any other power.

"The world will one day be convinced, that in

" the principal transactions relative to Spain I was
" completely a stranger to all the domestic in-
" trigues of its court; that I broke no promise
" made either to Charles IV. or to Ferdinand VII.;
" that I violated no engagement with the father
" or the son; that I made use of no falsehoods to
" entice them both to Bayonne, but that they both
" strove which should be the first to shew himself
" there. When I saw them at my feet and was en-
" abled to form a correct opinion of their total in-
" capacity, I beheld with compassion the fate of a
" great people; I eagerly seized the singular op-
" portunity, held out to me by fortune, for regene-
" rating Spain, rescuing her from the yoke of Eng-
" land, and intimately uniting her with our system.
" It was, in my conception, laying the fundamental
" basis of the tranquillity and security of Europe.
" But I was far from employing for that purpose,
" as it has been reported, any base and paltry stra-
" tagems. If I erred, it was, on the contrary, by
" daring openness and extraordinary energy. Ba-
" yonne was not the scene of premeditated ambush,
" but of a vast master-stroke of state policy. I could
" have preserved myself from these imputations
" by a little hypocrisy, or by giving up the Prince
" of the Peace to the fury of the people; but the
" idea appeared horrible to me, and struck me as
" if I was to receive the price of blood. Besides,
" it must also be acknowledged that Murat did me
" a great deal of mischief in the whole affair.

"Be that as it may, I disdained having recourse "to crooked and common-place expedients—I "found myself so powerful!—I dared to strike "from a situation too exalted. I wished to act "like Providence, which, of its own accord, applies "remedies to the wretchedness of mankind, by "means occasionally violent, but for which it is "unaccountable to human judgment.

"I candidly confess, however, that I engaged "very inconsiderately in the whole of the affair, its "immorality must have shewn itself too openly, "its injustice too glaringly, and the transactions, "taken altogether, present a disgusting aspect, "more particularly since my failure; for the out- "rage is no longer seen but in its hideous naked- "ness, stripped of all loftiness in idea, and of "the numerous benefits which it was my intention "to confer. Posterity, however, would have ex- "tolled it had I succeeded, and perhaps with rea- "son, on account of its vast and happy results. "Such is our lot, and such our judgment in this "world!...But I once more declare, that, in no "instance, was there any breach of faith, any per- "fidy or falsehood, and, what is more, there was "no occasion for them." Here the Emperor resumed, in its totality and principle, the historical sketch of the affair respecting Spain, repeating many things which have been already noticed.

"The court and the reigning family," said the Emperor, "were split into two parties. The one

"was that of the monarch, blindly governed by his "favourite, the Prince of the Peace, who had con- "stituted himself the real king; the other was that "of the heir presumptive, headed by his preceptor, "Escoiquiz, who aspired to the government. These "two parties were equally desirous of my support, "and made me the most flattering promises. I "was, no doubt, determined to derive every pos- "sible advantage from their situation.

"The favourite, in order to continue in office, "as well as to shelter himself from the vengeance "of the son, in case of the father's death, offered "me, in the name of Charles IV. to effect, in concert, "the conquest of Portugal, reserving as an asylum "for himself, the sovereignty of Algarva.

"On the other hand, the prince of the Asturias, "wrote to me privately, without his father's know- "ledge, soliciting a wife of my choice, and implor- "ing my protection.

"I concluded an agreement with the former, "and returned no answer to the latter. My troops "were already admitted into the Peninsula, when "the son took advantage of a commotion to make "his father abdicate, and to reign in his place.

"It has been foolishly imputed to me, that I took "part in all these intrigues, but so far was I from "having any knowledge of them, that the last event "in particular, disconcerted all my projects with "the father, in consequence of which, my troops "were already in the heart of Spain. The two par-

"ties were aware, from that moment, that I might,
"and ought to be the arbiter between them. The
"dethroned monarch, and the son, had recourse to
"me, the one for the purpose of obtaining ven-
"geance, and the other, for the purpose of being
"recognized. They both hastened to plead their
"cause before me, and they were urged on by
"their respective counsellors, those very persons
"who absolutely governed them, and who saw no
"means of preserving their own lives, but by
"throwing themselves into my arms.

"The prince of the Peace, who had been very
"nearly massacred, easily persuaded Charles IV.
"and his queen, to undertake the journey, as they
"had themselves, been in danger of falling victims
"to the fury of the multitude.

"On his part, the preceptor Escoiquiz, the real
"author of all the calamities of Spain, alarmed at
"seeing Charles IV. protest against his abdication,
"and in dread of the scaffold, unless his pupil tri-
"umphed, exerted every means to influence the
"young King. This Canon, who had besides a very
"high opinion of his own talents, did not despair of
"making an impression on my decisions, by his ar-
"guments, and of inducing me to acknowledge Fer-
"dinand, making me a tender, on his own account,
"of his services to govern, altogether under my con-
"troul, as effectually as the Prince of the peace could,
"under the name of Charles IV. And it must be
"owned," said the Emperor, "that, had I listened to

" several of his reasons, and adopted some of his " ideas, I should have been much better off."

" When I had them all assembled at Bayonne, I " felt a confidence in my political system, to which " I never before had the presumption to aspire. I " had not made my combinations, but I took advan- " tage of the moment. I here found the Gordian " knot before me, and I cut it. I proposed to Charles " IV. and the Queen, to resign the crown of Spain to " me, and to live quietly in France. They agreed, I " could say, almost with joy, to the proposal, so in- " veterately were they exasperated against their " son, and so earnestly did they and their favourite " wish to enjoy for the future, tranquillity and " safety. The Prince of Asturias, made no ex- " traordinary resistance to the plan, but neither vio- " lence nor threats were employed against him; " and if he was influenced by fear, which I am very " willing to believe, that could only be his concern.

" There you have in very few words, the complete " historical sketch of the affair of Spain; whatever " may be said, or written on it, must amount to " that; and you see, that there could be no occasion " for me to have had recourse to paltry tricks, to " falsehoods, to breaches of faith, or violation of en- " gagements. In order to establish my guilt, it " would have been necessary to shew my inclina- " tion to degrade myself gratuitously; but of that " propensity I have never given an instance.

" As to the rest, the instant my decision was

"known, the crowd of intriguers that swarm in "every court, and even those among them who "had been the most active in producing the mis- "fortunes of their country, endeavoured to get into "favour with Joseph, as they had done with Charles "IV. and Ferdinand VII. They watched, with ex- "traordinary diligence, the progress of events, and "changed sides at a later period, in proportion as "difficulties encreased, and our disasters came on. "They pursued the plan so successfully, that they "are the persons, who, at this moment, govern "Ferdinand. And, what is truly horrible, the bet- "ter to secure their influence, they did not hesi- "tate to impute whatever was odious and criminal "in past calamities, to the mass of *simpletons*, "whom they proscribed and banished;—of those "men naturally well-disposed, and who, in prin- "ciple, decidedly blamed Ferdinand's journey. Of "this latter class, several, who opposed the jour- "ney, afterwards took the oath of allegiance to "Joseph, who seemed then to be identified with "the happiness and tranquillity of their country, "and continued faithful to him, until the grand "catastrophe that drove him from the throne.

"It would be difficult to accumulate a greater "mass of impudence and baseness, than that exhi- "bited by all those intriguers, the principal perfor- "mers in that grand scene. It extenuates, one "may fairly remark, the degradation to which "similar acts of vileness have reduced France, in the

"eyes of Europe. It is evident, that they do not be-
"long to her exclusively. Intriguing, ambitious,
"rapacious men, are every where to be found, and
"are every where the same. Individuals alone are
"guilty; nations cannot incur the responsibility.
"Their only disadvantage arises from their being
"forced to witness these misdeeds. Unhappy the
"country, which becomes the scene of them!"

N. B. At present, the affair of Spain is perfectly known, thanks to the writings of the principal actors, the canon Escoiquiz, the minister Cevallos, and others, but above all, to those of the worthy and respectable M. Llorente, who, under the anagrammatic signature of Nellerto, has published the Memoirs of that time, sanctioned by all the official documents. The opposite contradictions of the two first, their mutual disputes, the assertions and denials of their contemporaries, have reduced their writings to their real value, by stripping them of whatever was erroneous, false, or even fabricated. The result is, that, in the opinion of every cool and impartial judge, they all concur, even involuntarily, in confirming the justificatory assertions advanced by Napoleon; not, that they do not produce that difference which inevitably arises from the diversity of party interest; but solely because neither of them actually establishes the grounds of positive crimination, nor furnishes any official document by which it can be proved, while all those, which exist, attest and sanction the contrary.

It may also be remarked in the history of these transactions, which must now be considered as genuine, that England herself was altogether a stranger to them, at least with respect to their origin, a fact which was far from Napoleon's way of thinking, who, charged the English at the time, with being the first cause of all the intrigues, and who still persevered in the accusation at St. Helena; so habituated was he to discover them at the bottom of every plot, which was forming against him.

With respect to this affair of Spain, I have further to notice a letter from the Emperor, which throws more light upon the subject than volumes. It is admirable, and the events which followed stamp it as a masterpiece. It exhibits the rapidity, the eagle-eyed view, with which Napoleon formed his opinion of things and men.

Unfortunately it also shews, how much the execution of the inferiors employed during the greater part of the time, destroyed the finest and most exalted conceptions; and in that point of view this letter remains a very precious document for history. It becomes prophetic by its date:—

"29th March, 1808.

"Monsieur le grand duc de Berg—I am afraid lest you should deceive me with respect to the situation of Spain, and lest you should also deceive yourself. Events have been singularly complicated by the transaction of the 20th of March. I find myself very much perplexed.

"*Do not believe that you are about to attack a disarmed nation, and that you can by a mere parade of your troops, effect the subjugation of Spain.* The revolution of the 20th of March proves, that the Spaniards possess energy. You have to contend with a new people; it has all the courage, and will display all the enthusiasm shewn by men, who are not worn out by political passions.

"The aristocracy and the clergy are the masters of Spain. If their privileges and existence be threatened, they will bring into the field against us levies en masse, that may perpetuate the war. I am not without my partisans; but if I shew myself as a conqueror, they will abandon me.

"The Prince of the Peace is detested, because he is accused of having betrayed Spain to France. This is the grievance which has assisted Ferdinand's usurpation. The popular is the weakest party.

"The Prince of Asturias does not possess a single quality requisite for the head of a nation. That will not prevent his being ranked as a hero, in order that he may be opposed to us. I will have no violence employed against the personages of this family. It can never answer any purpose to excite hatred and inflame animosity. Spain has a hundred thousand men under arms, more than are necessary to carry on an internal war with advantage. Scattered over several parts of the country, they may serve as rallying points for a total insurrection of the monarchy.

"I lay before you all the obstacles which must inevitably happen. There are others of which you must be aware. England will not allow the opportunity to escape her without multiplying our embarrassments. She daily sends packet-boats to the forces, which she maintains on the coasts of Portugal and in the Mediterranean; and she enlists into her service Sicilians and Portuguese.

"The Royal Family not having left Spain for the purpose of establishing itself in its American colonies, the state of the country can be changed only by a revolution. It is, perhaps, of all others in Europe, that which is the least prepared for one. Those who witness the monstrous defects of that government, and the anarchy which has been substituted for the legitimate authority, are the fewest in number. Those defects and that anarchy are converted to their own advantage by the greatest number.

"I can, consistently with the interests of my empire, do a great deal of good to Spain. What are the best means to be adopted?

"Shall I go to Madrid? Shall I take upon myself the office of Grand Protector in deciding between the father and the son? It seems to me a matter of difficulty to support Charles IV. on the throne. His government and his favourite are so very unpopular, that they could not maintain themselves for three months.

"Ferdinand is the enemy of France, and to that consideration he has been indebted for the crown. His elevation to the throne would be favourable to the factions, which for five and twenty years have longed for the destruction of France. A family alliance would be but a slender tie. *Queen Elizabeth* and other French princesses perished miserably whenever they could be immolated, with impunity, to the atrocious spirit of vengeance. My opinion is, that nothing should be hurried on, and that our measures ought to be regulated by events as they occur. It will be necessary to strengthen the bodies of troops, which are to be stationed on the frontiers of Portugal, and wait . . . . .

"I do not approve of your Imperial Highness's conduct in so precipitately making yourself master of Madrid. The army ought to have been kept ten leagues from the capital. You had no assurance that the people and the magistracy were about to recognise Ferdinand, without a struggle. The Prince of the Peace must, of course, have partisans among those employed in the public service; there is also an habitual attachment to the old King, which might lead to unpleasant consequences. Your entrance into Madrid, by alarming the Spaniards, has powerfully assisted Ferdinand. I have ordered Savary to attend the new King, and observe what passes. He will concert matters with your Imperial Highness. I shall hereafter

decide upon the measures necessary to be pursued. In the mean time, I think it proper to prescribe the following line of conduct to you:

"You will not pledge me to an interview, *in Spain*, with Ferdinand, unless you consider the state of things to be such, that I ought to recognise him King of Spain. You will behave with attention and respect to the King, the Queen, and Prince Godoy. You will require for them, and pay them the same honours as formerly. You will manage matters so as to prevent the Spaniards from entertaining any suspicions of the course I shall pursue. You will find no difficulty in this, as I know nothing about it myself.

"You will make the nobility and clergy understand, that if the interference of France be requisite in the affairs of Spain, their privileges and immunities shall be respected. You will assure them, that the Emperor wishes for the improvement of the political institutions of Spain, in order to place her in a relative state to that of civilised Europe, and to free her from the administration of favouritism. . . . . You will tell the magistrates and the inhabitants of the towns and the enlightened classes, that Spain stands in need of having the machine of her government re-organised, of a system of laws calculated for the protection of the people against the tyranny and usurpations of feudality, and of establishments which may revive industry, agriculture, and the arts. You will

describe to them the state of tranquillity and ease enjoyed by France, notwithstanding the wars in which she has been constantly involved, and the splendor of religion, which owes its existence to the Concordat I have signed with the Pope. You will explain to them the advantages they may derive from political regeneration; order and peace at home, respect and influence abroad. Such should be the spirit of your conversation and your writings. Do not hazard any thing hastily. I can wait at Bayonne, I can cross the Pyrenees, and strengthening myself towards Portugal, I can go and carry on the war in that quarter.

"I shall take care of your particular interests, do not think of them yourself. Portugal will be at my disposal... Let no powerful object engage you and influence your conduct; that would be injurious to me, and would be still more hurtful to yourself.

"You are too hasty in your instructions of the 14th.; the march you order General Dupont to take is too rapid, on account of the event of the 19th of March. They must be altered; you will make new arrangements; you will receive instructions from my Minister for Foreign Affairs.

"I enjoin the strictest maintenance of discipline; the slightest faults must not go unpunished. The inhabitants must be treated with the greatest attention. Above all, the churches and convents must be respected.

"The army must avoid all misunderstanding with the bodies and detachments of the Spanish army; a single flash in the pan must not take place on either side.

"Let Solano march beyond Badajos, but watch his movements. Do you yourself trace out the marches of my army, that it may be always kept at a distance of several leagues from the Spanish corps. Should hostilities take place, all would be lost.

"The fate of Spain can alone be decided by political views and by negociation. I charge you to avoid all explanation with Solano, as well as with the other Spanish generals and governors. You will send me two expresses daily. In case of events of superior interest, you will despatch officers of ordonnance. You will immediately send back the Chamberlain de T...., the bearer of this despatch, and give him a detailed report.

I pray God, M. le grand Duc de Berg, &c. &c.

(Signed) NAPOLEON."

June 15th.—The weather was superb; we took an airing in our calash, and observed very near the shore a large vessel, which seemed to manœuvre in a singular manner. We took it by its appearance for the Newcastle, which had been for some time expected to relieve the Northumberland; but it was only one of the Company's ships.

During part of the day, the Emperor, after run-

ning over a great number of topics, came at length to mention several persons, who, were they at liberty, he said, would join him at St. Helena, and he undertook to explain the motives by which they might be influenced. From this subject, he was led to touch upon the motives of those who were about him. "*Bertrand*," said he, "is hence-"forth identified with my fate. It is an historical "fact. *Gourgaud* was my first officer of ordonnance, "he is my own work, he is my child. *Montholon* is "Semonville's son, a brother-in-law to Joubert, a "child of the revolution and of camps. But you, my "good friend," said he to the fourth, "you," and after a moment's thought, he resumed; "you, my "good friend, let us know by what extraordinary "chance you find yourself here?" The answer was, "Sire, by the influence of my happy stars, "and for the honour of the emigrants."

Articles sent from England.—The Emperor's determination to prohibit the use of cotton in France.—The Conferences of Tilsit.—The Queen of Prussia.—The King.—The Emperor Alexander.—Anecdotes, &c.

June 16th.—The weather was completely fine; the Emperor entered my apartment about ten o'clock. I was employed in dressing myself, and also in dictating my journal to my son. The Emperor cast his eye over it for a few instants, and said nothing; he left it to look at some draw-

ings. They were topographical sketches, executed with the pen, of some of the fields of battle in Italy. They were planned by my son, and we felt pleasure in reserving them as an agreeable surprise for the Emperor. We had, until then, been employed upon them in secret.

I followed the Emperor to the garden; he talked a great deal on the articles that had been just sent to us from England, and which chiefly consisted of furniture. He exposed the ill-grace and awkardness of those who had been employed to deliver them to us. He observed, that in presenting even what would have been most agreeable to us, they found the means of hurting our feelings. He was, on that account, determined not to make use of them, and he declined accepting two fowling-pieces, which were particularly intended for him. The Emperor breakfasted in the open air, and we were all invited to his table.

The conversation turning on fashions and dress, the Emperor said, that at one period, he had resolved to prohibit the use of cotton in France, for the more effectual encouragement of the lawn and cambric trade of our towns in Flanders. The Empress Josephine was shocked at the idea, which she decidedly opposed, and it was given up.

The Emperor was in a happy humour for conversation, and the weather was very mild, and tolerably pleasant. He began walking in the kind of alley which is perpendicular to the front of the

house. The conversation turned on the celebrated epoch of Tilsit, and the following are the interesting particulars which I collected.

The Emperor remarked, that, had the Queen o Prussia arrived at the commencement of the negociations, she might have exercised considerable influence with respect to the result. Happily she arrived, when they were sufficiently advanced to enable the Emperor to decide upon their conclusion four and twenty hours afterwards. The King, it was thought, had prevented her early appearance, in consequence of a rising jealousy against a great personage, which was confidently stated, said the Emperor, " not to have been destitute of some " slight ground."

The moment of her arrival the Emperor paid her a visit. " The Queen of Prussia," said he, " had been very beautiful, but she was beginning " to lose some of the charms of her youth."

The Emperor declared, that the Queen received him like Mademoiselle Duchénois in the character of Chimene, thrown back into a grand attitude, demanding, calling aloud for *justice*. In one word, it was altogether a theatrical scene; the representation was truly tragic. He was unable to speak for an instant, and thought the only way of extricating himself was that of bringing back the business to the tone of regular comedy, which he attempted by presenting her with a chair, and gently forcing her to be seated. She did not,

however, discontinue the most pathetic expressions. "Prussia," she exclaimed, "had been "blindfolded with respect to her power;—she "had dared to contend with a hero, to oppose "herself to the destinies of France, to neglect "his auspicious friendship; she was deservedly "punished for it. The glory of the great Frederic, "his memory, and his inheritance had puffed up "the pride of Prussia, and had caused her ruin! "&c. &c." She solicited, supplicated, implored. Magdeburg, in particular, was the object of her efforts and wishes. The Emperor kept his ground as well as he could. Fortunately, the husband made his appearance. The Queen reproved, with an expressive look, the unseasonable interruption, and shewed some pettishness. In fact, the King attempted to take part in the conversation, spoiled the whole affair, and "I was," said the Emperor, "set at liberty."

The Emperor entertained the Queen at dinner. She played off, said he, all her wit against me; she had a great deal: all her manners, which were very fascinating; all her coquetry; she was not without charms. "But I was determined not to "yield. I found it necessary, however, to keep a "great command over myself, that I might con-"tinue exempt from all kind of engagement, and "every expression, which might be taken in a "doubtful sense, and the more so, because I was "carefully watched, and peculiarly by Alexander,"

An instant before dinner Napoleon took a very beautiful rose from a flower stand, which he presented to the Queen. She at first expressed by the motion of her hand a kind of prepared refusal; but suddenly recollecting herself, she said; *Yes, but at least with Magdeburg.* The Emperor replied, "But ..... I shall observe to your Ma- "jesty, that it is I who present, and you, who " are about to receive it." The dinner and the remainder of the time passed over in that manner.

The Queen was seated at table between the two Emperors, who rivalled each other in gallantry. She was placed near Alexander's best ear; with one he can scarcely hear. The evening came, and the Queen having retired, the Emperor, who had shown the most engaging attentions to his guests, but, who had at the same time, been often driven to an extremity, resolved to come to a point. He sent for M. de Talleyrand, and Prince Kourakin, talked big to them, and letting fly, continued he, some hard words, observed, that after all, a woman and a piece of gallantry ought not to alter a system conceived for the destiny of a great people, and that he insisted upon the immediate conclusion of the negociations and the signing of the treaty; which took place according to his orders. " Thus," said he, " the Queen " of Prussia's conversation advanced the treaty by " a week or a fortnight." The Queen was preparing to renew her attacks the next day, and was in-

dignant, when she heard that the treaty was signed. She wept a great deal, and determined to see the Emperor Napoleon no more. She would not accept a second invitation to dinner. Alexander was himself obliged to prevail upon her. She complained most bitterly, and maintained, that Napoleon had broken his word. But Alexander had been always present. He had even been a dangerous witness, ready to give evidence of the slightest action or word on the part of Napoleon in her favour. "He has made you no promise," was his observation to her; "if you can prove the con-"trary, I here pledge myself as between man and "man to make him keep his promise, and he will "do so, I am convinced."—"But he has given me "to understand," said she, ... "No," replied Alexander, "and you have nothing to reproach "him with." She came at length. Napoleon, who had no longer any occasion to be on his guard against her, redoubled his attentions. She played off, for a few moments, the airs of an offended coquette, and when the dinner was over, and she was about to retire, Napoleon presented his hand, and conducted her to the middle of the staircase, where he stopped. She squeezed his hand, and said with a kind of tenderness; "Is it possible, that "after having had the honour of being so near to "the hero of the century and of history, he will "not leave me the power and satisfaction of being "enabled to assure him, that he has attached me

" to him for life?"—" Madam," replied the Emperor in a serious tone, " I am to be pitied; it is " the result of my unhappy stars." He then took leave of her. When she reached her carriage, she threw herself into it in tears; sent for Duroc, whom she highly esteemed, renewed all her complaints to him, and said, pointing to the palace; " There is a place in which I have been cruelly " deceived!"

" The Queen of Prussia," said the Emperor, " was unquestionably gifted with many happy re- " sources; she possessed a great deal of informa- " tion and had many excellent capabilities. It " was she, who really reigned for more than fif- " teen years. She also, in spite of my dexterity " and all my exertions, took the lead in conversa- " tion, and constantly maintained the ascendancy. " She touched, perhaps, too often upon her fa- " vourite topic, but she did so, however, with " great plausibility and without giving the slight- " est cause of uneasiness. It must be confessed " that she had an important object in view, and " that the time was short and precious."

" One of the high contracting parties," said the Emperor, " had frequently assured her, that she " ought to have come in the beginning or not " at all, and observed that, for his part, he had done " every thing in his power to induce her to come " at once. It was suspected," continued the Emperor, " that he had a personal motive to gratify

"by her coming; but on the other hand, the "husband had a motive equally personal in op- "posing it." Napoleon believed him to have been very kind and a sincere friend in the business.

"The king of Prussia," said the Emperor, "had "requested his audience of leave on that very day, "but I postponed it for four and twenty hours, "at the secret entreaty of Alexander. The king "of Prussia never forgave me for putting off that "audience; so clearly did it seem to him, that "Royal Majesty was insulted by my refusal.

"Another heavy charge against me, and of "which he has never been able to divest his feel- "ings, was that of having violated, as he said, his "territory of Anspach in our campaign of Auster- "litz. In all our subsequent interviews, however "important the subjects of our discussion, he laid "them all aside for the purpose of proving, that I "had really violated his territory of Anspach. He "was wrong; but in short, it was his conviction, "and his resentment was that of an honest man. "His wife, however, was vexed at it, and wished "him to pursue a higher system of politics, &c."

Napoleon reproached himself with a real fault, in allowing the king of Prussia's presence at Tilsit. His first determination was to prevent his coming. He would then have been less bound to shew any attention to his interests. He might have kept Silesia, he might have aggrandized Saxony with it, and have probably reserved for himself another

kind of destiny. He further remarked; "I learn, "that the politicians of the present day find great "fault with my treaty of Tilsit; they have dis- "covered, that I had, by that means, placed Eu- "rope at the mercy of the Russians; but if I had "succeeded at Moscow; and it is now known how "very near I was, they would, no doubt, have ad- "mired us for having, on the contrary, by that "treaty, placed the Russians at the mercy of Eu- "rope. I entertained great designs with respect "to the Germans. ..... But I failed, and there- "fore I was wrong. This is according to every "rule of justice....."

Almost every day at Tilsit, the two Emperors and the King rode out on horseback together, but said Napoleon, "the latter was always awkward and "unlucky." The Prussians felt it very visibly. Napoleon was constantly between the two sove- reigns; but either the King fell behind, or jos- tled and incommoded Napoleon. He shewed the same awkwardness on their return: the two Emperors dismounted in an instant, and took each other by the hand to go up stairs together. But as the honours were done by Napoleon, he could not enter without first seeing the King pass. It was sometimes necessary to wait for him a long time, and as the weather was often rainy, it hap- pened that the two Emperors got wet on the king's account, to the great dissatisfaction of all the spec- tators.

"This awkwardness," said the Emperor, "was "the more glaring, as Alexander is in possession of "all the graces, and equal, in elegance of manners, "to the most polished and amiable ornaments of our "Parisian drawing-rooms. The latter was at times "so tired of his companion, who seemed lost in his "own sorrows, or in some other cause, that we "mutually agreed on breaking up our common "meeting to get rid of him. We separated im- "mediately after dinner, under the pretence of "some particular business; but Alexander and I "met shortly afterwards to take tea with one "another, and we then continued in conversation "until midnight, and even beyond it."

Alexander and Napoleon met again some time after at Erfurt, and exchanged the most striking testimonies of affection. Alexander expressed with earnestness the sentiments of tender friendship and real admiration which he entertained for Napoleon. They passed some days together in the enjoyment of the charms of perfect intimacy and of the most familiar communications of private life. "We were," said the Emperor, "two young "men of quality, who, in their common pleasures, "had no secret from each other."

Napoleon had sent for the most distinguished performers of the French Theatre. A celebrated actress, Mademoiselle B——, attracted the attention of his guest, who had a momentary fancy to get acquainted with her. He asked his companion

whether any inconvenience was likely to be the result. "None," answered the latter; "only," added he, intentionally, "it is a certain and rapid "mode of making yourself known to all Paris. "After to-morrow, post-day, the most minute de- "tails will be dispatched, and in a short time, not "a statuary at Paris but will be qualified to give "a model of your person from head to foot." The danger of such a kind of publicity appeased the monarch's rising passion; "for," observed Napoleon, "he was very circumspect with regard to "that point, and he recollected no doubt the old "adage, when the mask falls, the hero disappears."

The Emperor assured us, that, had it been his wish, Alexander would certainly have given him his sister in marriage; his politics would have dictated the match, even had his inclination been against it. He was petrified when he heard of the marriage with Austria, and exclaimed—"This consigns me to my native forests." If he seemed at first to shift about, it was because some time was necessary to enable him to come to a decision. His sister was very young, and the consent of his mother was requisite. This was settled by Paul's will, and the Empress mother was one of Napoleon's greatest enemies. She was also the dupe of all the absurdities, all the ridiculous stories which had been circulated on his personal account. "How," she exclaimed, "can I marry my daughter to a "man who is unfit to be any one's husband? Shall

"another man take possession of my daughter's
"bed, if it be necessary, that she should have chil-
"dren? She is not formed for such a fate."—
"Mother," said Alexander, "can you be so cre-
"dulous as to believe the calumnies of London
"and the insinuations of the saloons of Paris? If
"that be the only difficulty, if it be that alone
"which gives you pain, I answer for him, and
"many others have it in their power to answer for
"him with me."

"If Alexander's affection for me was sincere," said the Emperor, "it was alienated from me by "the force of intrigue. Certain persons, M——, "or others at the instigation of T——, lost no "seasonable opportunity of mentioning instances "of my turning him into ridicule, and they assured "him, that at Tilsit and Erfurt, he no sooner turned "his back than I took my opportunity of laugh-"ing at his expense. Alexander is very suscepti-"ble, and they must have easily soured his mind. "It is certain, that he made bitter complaints of it "at Vienna during the congress, and yet nothing "was more false; he pleased me, and I loved him."

S....., one of Napoleon's aides-de-camp, was sent immediately after the treaty of Tilsit to Alexander at Petersburg, and was loaded with favours. The efforts and liberality of Alexander were inexhaustible to render himself agreeable to his new ally.

A circumstance of 1814 is related, which drew,

it is said, from S....., a very happy allusion to his mission in Russia.

S..... was, on his return from Russia, appointed minister of the police at Paris. A short time after the restoration, M. de B..... addressing him at the Tuileries, in a manner altogether careless and unreserved, said, "Now that all is "over, you may tell us every thing; pray, who "was your agent at Hartwell?" (This was, as every one knows, the residence of Louis XVIII. in England) S....., astonished at the want of good sense, evinced by M. de B....., answered with dignity;—"M. le Comte, the Emperor considered "the asylum of kings as an inviolable sanctuary. "It was a principle which he impressed upon his "police and we adhered to it. We have since "learnt, that the same conduct was not observed "with respect to him. But you, Sir, should entertain less doubt upon the subject than any "other person. When I arrived at Petersburgh, "you were there on the part of the king. The "Emperor Alexander, in the first warmth of his "reconciliation, acquainted me with every thing "that respected you, and asked me whether it was "the wish of my government, that you should "be ordered to leave his dominions. I had received no instructions upon that head. I wrote "for them to the Emperor. His answer was, by "return of courier, that he was satisfied with the "sincere friendship of Alexander, that he would

"never interfere in his private arrangements; that "he entertained no personal hatred against the "Bourbons, and that if he believed it were pos- "sible for them to accept it, he would offer them "an asylum in France, and any royal residence, "which might be agreeable to them. If you were "then ignorant of these instructions, you will, "no doubt, find them among the papers of the "foreign office."

Arrival of the foreign commissioners.—Forced etiquette of Napoleon.—Anecdotes.—Council of State; details respecting the place of meeting, customs, &c.—Notice of some sittings, digression.—Gassendi.—The Croat regiment.—Ambassadors.—The national guard.—The university, &c.

17th of June.—The Emperor went out early in the morning. He ordered his calash for the purpose of taking a ride before breakfast. When he was getting into it, we were informed, that the Newcastle ship of war and the frigate Orontes were tacking to enter the port. These two vessels had overshot the island in the night, and were obliged to work to windward. They sailed from England the 23d of April and brought the bill respecting the Emperor's detention. The English legislature had sanctioned by law the determination of ministers on that subject. The Commissioners of Austria, France and Russia were on board of these vessels.

In the course of the day, the Emperor, speaking

of the forms and costumes which he had established, and of the etiquette which he had introduced, said "I found it a very difficult thing to "give myself up to my own inclinations. I "started into public notice from the multitude. "Necessity compelled me to form a state of ex- "ternal importance, to model a certain system of "solemnity; in a word, to establish an etiquette. "I should, otherwise, have been every day liable "to be slapped upon the shoulder. In France, we "are naturally inclined to a misplaced familiarity, "and I had to guard myself particularly against "those who had at once, without any preparatory "study, become men of education. We become "courtiers very easily, we are very obsequious in "the outset, and addicted to flattery and adula- "tion; but, unless it be repressed, a certain fami- "liarity soon takes place, which might with great "facility be carried as far as influence. It is well "known that our kings were not exempt from this "inconvenience." Here the Emperor alluded to a very characteristic anecdote of the time of Louis XIV.—that of the courtier, of the number of whose children that prince enquired at his levee. "Four, Sire," was the reply. The king having had occasion to speak to him two or three times in public during the day, put precisely the same question to him. "Pray, Sir, how many children have "you got?" The answer was uniformly the same; "Four, Sire." At length, as the King was at

play in the evening, he repeated the usual question. "How many children have you got?"—"Six, Sire." "How the plague can that be?" said the king, "for "if I recollect right, you told me you had but "four."—"Really, Sire, I was afraid of fatiguing "you with the constant repetition of the same "thing."

"Sire," observed one of the company to the Emperor, "I can mention an anecdote of a neighbour-"ing country, worthy of that which we have just "heard, and which may enable us to compare the "gratuitous insolence of an absolute monarch's "courtier, with the open resentment of a man, who "has nothing to fear from his constitutional sove-"reign.

"A person moving in the circles of high life in "London, had to complain of a great personage, by "whom he had been very ill-used, and pledged "himself to his friends, to have ostensible satis-"faction. Having learnt, that the great personage "was to honour a very brilliant party with his pre-"sence, he attended himself at an early hour, and "placed himself near the lady of the house. The "great personage had paid his respects to the lady, "and, after the customary compliments, being "about to join the rest of the company, he had "scarcely turned round, before the offended person, "leaning carelessly towards her, said with a loud "voice, Who is your fat friend?" The lady redden-"ed, pushed him with her elbow, and whispered;

"Hold your tongue, I beg, don't you see it is the "Prince?" The gentleman replied, in a higher "tone than before;—"How, the Prince!—Well, "upon my honour, he is grown as fat as a pig."

Every one is at liberty to decide upon the relative demerits of these two insolent characters. Both are, no doubt, very blameable, and if there be less coarseness in the conduct of our countryman, it must also be allowed, that his impertinence is altogether without an object, and purely gratuitous.

During another part of the day, the Emperor conversed at great length on the sittings of the Council of State. I had pointed out some, and of others we had but a doubtful recollection; or they had altogether slipped our memory. "Well," said he, "in a short time, scarcely a trace of them will "be left behind."—Being unable to sleep that night, I thought of these words, and endeavoured to recollect, as minutely as I could, every thing I was acquainted with respecting the Council of State;—the seat of its meetings, its usages, forms, &c. &c. and I do not think, I can better employ the leisure of our solitude at St. Helena, than by giving an account of them here, I shall occasionally add what I may recollect of the sittings at which I was present. There are persons to whom these details will not be destitute of interest.

The hall of the Council of State, in the Tuileries, the place where the sittings were usually held, was

on the same side with, and of the entire length of the chapel. In the partition wall, were several large doors, which being thrown open on Sundays, formed passages to the chapel. It was a very fine elongated apartment. At one of its extremities towards the interior of the palace, was a large and beautiful gate, by which the Emperor entered, when, attended by his court, he proceeded on Sunday to hear mass. It was only opened the rest of the week for the Emperor, when he went to his Council of State. The members of the council entered only by two small doors, contrived for that purpose in the opposite extremity.

A row of tables which occupied the whole length of the hall, on the right and left, was arranged there only when the council assembled, and the space left was sufficient to admit of seats within, near the wall, and of a free passage without. There sat the Counsellors of State, in their respective order of precedence; their places were, besides, designated by port-folios, bearing their names, and containing their papers. At the extremity of the hall, towards the grand entrance, and across the two rows, were placed similar tables for the Masters of Requests. The Auditors were seated on stools or chairs, behind the Counsellors of State.

At the upper extremity of the hall, opposite the grand entrance, was the Emperor's place, on an elevation of one or two steps. There was his arm chair, and a small table covered with a piece of rich

tapestry, and furnished with all the necessary articles, with paper, pens, ink, pen-knives, and which were also laid before the Members of the Council.

At the right of the Emperor, but below, and on a level with us, was the Prince Arch-chancellor, with a separate small table; on his left, the Prince Arch-treasurer, who attended very seldom, and finally, at the left of the latter, M. Locre, who drew up the official account of the proceedings.

When any princes of the family happened to be present, a similar table was placed for them on the same line, and according to their respective rank. If any of the ministers were present, and they were all at liberty to attend whenever they pleased, they took their places at the side tables, at the head of the counsellors of state. The enclosed space was empty, and none ever passed through it, but the Emperor, or the Members of the Council, when proceeding to take the oath of allegiance to him.

The ushers moved silently about the hall, for the service of the members, even during the deliberations of the council. The members left their places whenever they pleased, to obtain from their colleagues any particular documents of which they might be in want, or for any other purpose.

The upper compartments of the hall displayed allegorical paintings, relative to the functions of the Council of State, such as justice, commerce, industry, &c. &c. and the cieling was decorated with the beautiful picture of the battle of Austezlitz,

by Gros. Thus, under one of the most glorious laurels, with which he ennobled France, did Napoleon preside over its internal administration.

It was in that place that for nearly eighteen months I enjoyed the inestimable advantage, the unparalleled satisfaction, of attending twice a week sittings so interesting by their special objects, and rendered still more so by the constant presence of the Emperor, who seemed to be the soul and life of the deliberations. It was there that I have seen him protract the discussions from eleven in the morning until nine at night, and display at the conclusion as much activity, copiousness, and freshness of mind and understanding as he did in the beginning, while we were ready to sink down with weariness and fatigue.

While the court was at St. Cloud the council was held there, but when the sitting was to take place at too early an hour, or that it was likely to last long, the Emperor adjourned the proceedings until the members could take some refreshment, which was served up in the adjacent apartment, on small tables most magnificently supplied, as if by enchantment. I may truly say, that it would be impossible to give a just idea of the fascinations we witnessed in every thing belonging to the Imperial palaces.

The hour of the Council's sitting was regularly noticed in our letters of convocation, but the hour was generally eleven.

When a sufficient number of members was present, the Arch-Chancellor, who was always there the first, and who presided in the Emperor's absence, opened the sitting, and called the attention of the Council to what was then called the *little order of the day*, and which solely embraced simple matters of a local nature, and of mere form.

About an hour later, in general, the beating of the drum in the interior of the Palace announced the Emperor's arrival. The grand entrance was thrown open; his Majesty was announced; all the Council rose, and the Emperor appeared, preceded by his Chamberlain and his Aide-de-Camp on duty, who presented his chair, received his hat, and continued behind him during the sitting, ready to receive and execute his orders.

The Arch-Chancellor then presented to the Emthe *great order of the day*, which contained the series of objects under deliberation. The Emperor read them over, and pointed out in a distinct tone that which he wished to have discussed. The Counsellor of State, nominated for the purpose, read his report, and the deliberations commenced.

Every member was at liberty to speak; if several rose at the same time, the order of precedence was regulated by the Emperor. The members spoke from their places sitting. No written speeches were allowed to be read; it was requisite that they should be made extemporaneously. When the Emperor thought the question, in which

he usually took no inconsiderable share himself, sufficiently discussed, he made a summary of the arguments, which was always luminous, and frequently marked with novelty and point, came to a conclusion and put it to the vote.

I have already noticed the freedom enjoyed in these debates. The animation of the speakers, increasing by degrees, became sometimes excessive, and the discussion was often protracted beyond measure, particularly when the Emperor, occupied probably with some other subject, seemed, either from distraction or something else, to be altogether ignorant of what was going on. He then commonly cast an irresolute eye over the hall, cut pencils with his penknife, pricked the tapestry of his table or the arm of his chair with the point of it, or employed his pencil or pen in scrawling whimsical marks or sketches, which, after he was gone, excited the covetous attention of the young members, who made a kind of scramble for them; and it was curious to observe, when he happened to have traced the name of some country or capital, the hyperbolical inferences that were sought to be extracted from it.

Sometimes too, when the Emperor entered the Council, as soon as his dinner was ended, and after having undergone great fatigue during the morning, he would fold his arms upon the table, lay down his head and fall asleep. The Arch-Chancellor proceeded with the deliberations, which

were continued without interruption, and the Emperor on awakening immediately caught up the thread of the discussion, though the previous subject might have been ended and another introduced. The Emperor often asked for a glass of water and sugar; and a table in the adjoining room was always laid out with refreshments for his use, without any precautions being adopted as to the individuals who were permitted to approach it.

The Emperor, it is well known, was in the habit of taking snuff almost every minute: this was a sort of mania which seized him chiefly during intervals of abstraction. His snuff-box was speedily emptied; but he still continued to thrust his fingers into it, or to raise it to his nose, particularly when he was himself speaking. Those Chamberlains who proved themselves most expert and assiduous in the discharge of their duties, would frequently endeavour, unobserved by the Emperor, to take away the empty box and substitute a full one in its stead; for there existed a great competition of attention and courtesy among the Chamberlains who were habitually employed in services about the Emperor's person; an honour which was very much envied. These individuals were, however, seldom changed, either because they intrigued to retain their places, or because it was naturally most agreeable to the Emperor to continue them in posts, with the duties

of which they were acquainted. It was the business of the Grand Marshal (Duroc) to make all these arrangements. The following is an instance of the attentions evinced by the Emperor's Chamberlains. One of them having observed, that the Emperor on going to the theatre frequently forgot his opera glass, of which he made very great use, got one made exactly like it, so that the first time he saw the Emperor without his glass, he presented his own to him, and the difference was not observed. On his return from the theatre the Emperor was not a little surprised to find, that he had got two glasses exactly alike. Next day he inquired how the new opera glass had made its appearance, and the Chamberlain replied that it was one he kept in reserve in case it might be wanted.

The Emperor always shewed himself very sensible of these attentions, which were innocent in themselves, and which were calculated to make an impression on the feelings, when dictated only by love and respect; for then the individual was not acting the part of a slavish courtier, but that of an affectionate and devoted servant. Napoleon, on his part, whatever may have been reported to the contrary in the saloons of Paris, evinced sincere regard for the individuals of his household. When he quitted Paris for St. Cloud, Malmaison, or any other of his country residences, he usually invited the individuals of his household to his private

evening parties; and thus was formed a pleasant family circle, admittance to which was held to be a very high honour. When in the country he also admitted his Chamberlains to dine at his table. One day while at dinner at Trianon, being troubled with a severe cold in his head, a complaint to which he was very subject, he found himself in want of a handkerchief, the servants immediately ran to fetch one; but in the meanwhile the Chamberlain on duty, who was a relation of Maria Louisa, drew a clean one unfolded from his pocket, and wished to take the other from the Emperor. "I thank you," said Napoleon; "but I will never "have it said that I allowed M—— to touch a "handkerchief which I had used;" and he threw it on the ground. Such was the man who in certain circles was described as being coarse and brutal, ill treating all his household, and even behaving rudely to the ladies of the palace. The Emperor, on the contrary, was a scrupulous observer of decorum. He was very sensible to all the little attentions he received; and though it was a sort of system with him to suffer no manifestation of gratitude to escape him, yet the expression of his eye or the tone of his voice, sufficiently denoted what he really felt. Unlike those whose lips overflow with the expression of sentiments which their hearts never feel, Napoleon seemed to make it a rule to repress or disguise the kind emotions by which he was frequently in-

spired. I believe I have already mentioned this fact; but the following are some fresh proofs of it, which recur to me at this moment. These circumstances are the more characteristic, since they occurred at Longwood, where Napoleon might have been expected to indulge his natural feelings with less restraint than during the possession of his power.

I usually sat beside my son while he wrote to the Emperor's dictation. The Emperor always walked about the room when dictating, and he frequently stood for a moment behind my chair, to look over the writing, so that he might know where to take up the thread of his dictation. When in this situation, how many times has my head been enclosed between his arms, and even slightly pressed to his bosom. Then, immediately checking himself, he seemed to have been merely leaning over my shoulders, or playfully bearing all his weight upon me, as if to try my strength.

The Emperor was very fond of my son, and I have often seen him bestow a sort of manual caress on him; and then, as it were, to do away with the effect of this motion, he would immediately accompany it by some words uttered in a loud and somewhat sharp tone of voice. One day as he was entering the drawing-room, in a moment of good-humour and forgetfulness, I saw him take Madame Bertrand's hand and affec-

tionately raise it to his lips; but suddenly recollecting himself, he turned away, in a manner that would have had a very awkward effect had not Madame Bertrand, with that exquisite grace for which she is so peculiarly distinguished, removed all embarrassment, by impressing a kiss on the hand that had been extended to her. But these stories have carried me very far from my subject. I must return to the Council of State.

All the reports, plans of resolutions and decrees which we had to discuss, were printed and distributed to us at our own houses. There was one subject, for example, relating to the University, which was perhaps twenty times drawn up. Others lingered for a length of time in the portfolios, or were at length totally dropped, without any cause being assigned.

On my return from my mission to Holland, just after I had been created a member of the Council of State, I rose up to speak on the subject of the conscription. I was naturally interested in all that related to naval affairs, my mind was full of enthusiasm, and was stored with the observations which I had just collected in Holland. I proposed that all the Dutch conscripts, in consideration of their natural predilections, should be permitted, if they chose, to enter the naval service; and moreover, that the privilege of this choice should be extended to all the French conscripts I pointed

out the inconveniences which such an arrangement was calculated to obviate, and developed the advantages which it was likely to ensure. I observed, that it was impossible to render our seamen too numerous. Our ship's crews, I said, would thus become regiments; the same men would at once be sailors and soldiers, gunners, and pontooners; we should obtain double service at the same rate of pay, &c. My speech had, up to this point, been as favorably received as I could wish; and in my own mind I congratulated myself on my success; when on a sudden I lost all power of utterance. The train of my ideas immediately became disconnected, and I stood mute and confounded, without knowing where I was or what I was doing. This was the first time I had ventured to speak; and I had made an extraordinary effort to surmount my natural diffidence. Profound silence reigned in the assembly, a hundred eyes were fixed upon me, and I was ready to sink under the weight of my embarrassment. I had no alternative but to confess my painful situation, to tell the Emperor frankly, that I would rather be in a battle, and finally to ask permission to conclude my address by reading a few lines from a written paper which I had brought with me. From that moment, however, I never felt any wish to speak in the Council of State; I was completely cured of all desire to exert my eloquence in future. But in spite of this unfortunate circumstance, my brief address had

attracted the notice of the Emperor; for a few days afterwards, the Aid-de-Camp on duty, (Count Bertrand) informed me that the Emperor, while playing at billiards, seeing the Minister of the Marine enter, said to him:—"Well Sir, Las Cases read to "us, at the Council, a very good memorial on the "composition of the navy; he was not at all of "your opinion respecting the age at which seamen "should be allowed to enter the service."

Every sitting of the Council at which the Emperor presided, presented the highest degree of interest, for he never failed to deliver a speech himself, and all the observations that fell from him were important. I was always delighted with his speeches: but a circumstance that both surprised and vexed me, was to hear some of the remarks that had fallen from the Emperor in the course of the day, at the Council of State, repeated and often ill-naturedly perverted in the saloons of Paris in the evening. How could this happen? Was it owing to the inaccuracy of the individual who had reported what he heard, or to the malignity of him to whom it had been reported? Be this as it may, the fact was as I have stated.

I often entertained the idea of writing out the speeches which I had heard the Emperor deliver, and I now very deeply regret having neglected to do so. The following are a few reminiscences which occur to me at this moment:

One day, the Emperor, speaking on the political

rights which it was proper to concede to persons of French origin born in foreign countries, said, "The noblest title in the world is that of being "born a Frenchman; it is a title dispensed by "Heaven, and which no individual on earth should "have the power to withdraw. For my part, I "wish that every man of French origin, though he "were a foreigner in the tenth generation, should "still be a Frenchman, if he wish to claim the "title. Were he to present himself on the other "bank of the Rhine, saying, I wish to be a French-"man, I would have his voice be more powerful "than the law, the barriers should fall before him, "and he should return triumphant to the bosom "of our common mother."

On another occasion, he said, though I do not now recollect on what subject he was speaking; "The Constituent Assembly acted very unwisely "in abolishing purely titular nobility; a measure "which was calculated to humble so many indi-"viduals. I do better. I confer on all Frenchmen "titles, of which every one has reason to be proud."

At another time, he used the following words, which perhaps, I have already quoted.

In the Council of State a discussion once arose respecting the plan of a decree. The result of this discussion has now escaped my recollection, but I know the subject was to determine, that the kings of the Imperial Families, occupying foreign thrones, should leave their titles and all the etiquette of roy-

alty on the frontier, and only resume them on quitting France. The Emperor replying to some one who had started objections to this, and at the same time explaining the motives for the measure, said: "But for these monarchs, I reserve in France a "still higher title; they shall be more than kings, "they shall be French Princes."

I might multiply quotations of this kind to an endless length: they must be engraven in the recollection of all the members of the Council, as well as in mine. It will perhaps be a matter of surprise that having seen the Emperor so frequently, and having heard him deliver sentiments such as these, I should have said, I did not know him at the period when I followed him to St. Helena. My answer is, that at that time I felt with regard to the Emperor, more of admiration and enthusiasm than of real love, arising from an intimate knowledge of his character. Even in the palace we were assailed by so many absurd reports respecting the private character and conduct of Napoleon, and we had so little direct communication with him, that by dint of hearing the same stories repeated over and over, I imbibed, in spite of myself, a certain degree of doubt and distrust. He was described to be of a dissembling and cunning disposition, and it was affirmed that he could, when in public, make a parade of fine sentiment, which he was totally incapable of feeling; in short, that he possessed

eloquent tongue and an insensible heart. Thus it was not until I became thoroughly acquainted with his character, that I was convinced how really and truly he was what he appeared to be. Never perhaps was any man in the world so devotedly attached to France, and there was no sacrifice which he would not readily have made to preserve her glory. This is sufficiently evident from his conduct at Chatillon, and after his return from Waterloo. He expressed himself truly and energetically on his rock, when he used these remarkable words, which I have before quoted: "No, my real sorrow is not here!"

The following anecdotes have reference to other subjects, partly grave and partly humorous. One day the Counsellor of State, General Gassendi, taking part in the discussion of the moment, dwelt much upon the doctrines of economists. The Emperor who was much attached to his old artillery comrade, stopped him, saying: "My "dear General, where did you gain all this know-"ledge? Where did you imbibe these princi-"ples?" Gassendi, who very seldom spoke in the Council, after defending himself in the best way he could, finding himself driven into his last entrenchments, replied that he had, after all, borrowed his opinions from Napoleon himself. "How?" exclaimed the Emperor, with warmth, "What do "you say? Is it possible? From me, who have "always thought that if there existed a monarchy

"of granite, the chimeras of political economists, "would reduce it to powder!" And after some other remarks, partly ironical and partly serious, he concluded;—"Go, General! you must have "fallen asleep in your office, and have dreamed "all this." Gassendi, who was rather irascible, replied, "Oh! as for falling asleep in our offices, "Sire, I defy any one to do that with you, you "plague us too much for that." All the council burst into a fit of laughter, and the Emperor laughed louder than any one.

Another time a question arose respecting the organization of the Illyrian provinces, just after they had fallen into the power of France. Those provinces bordering on Turkey were occupied by regiments of Croatian troops embodied on a peculiar plan. They were, in short, military colonies, the idea of which was conceived upwards of a century ago by the great Prince Eugène, for the purpose of establishing a barrier against the incursions and ravages of the Turks, and had very well fulfilled the purpose for which they were destined. The committee appointed to draw up a plan for the organization of the provinces, proposed that the Croatian regiments should be disbanded, and replaced by a national guard similar to ours. "Are you mad?" exclaimed the Emperor, on hearing the report read; "are "the Croatians Frenchmen? or have you under-"stood the excellence, utility, and importance of "the institution?"—"Sire," replied the individual,

who conceived himself bound to defend the report, "the Turks will not now venture to resume their "transgressions."—"And why not?"—"Sire, be-"cause your majesty is become their neighbour."—"Well, and what of that?"—"Sire, they "will be too much awed by your power."—"Oh "yes, Sire, Sire," replied the Emperor sharply, "a truce with compliments at present, or if you "like, go and present them to the Turks, who will "answer you by a discharge of musquetry, and "you can return and give me an account of the "affair." The Emperor immediately decided that the Croatian regiments should be preserved.

One day the plan of a decree respecting ambassadors was submitted to the consideration of the Council of State. This plan, though very remarkable, was, I believe, never published to the world. The coolness which the Council evinced on this subject caused the matter to be dropped; many other plans also experienced the same fate; which, it may be observed, affords an additional proof of the independence of the Council, and shews that Napoleon possessed more moderation than is generally believed.

The Emperor, who appeared to be the only individual to support the decree, and who adhered to it very firmly, made some very curious remarks in its defence. He wished that ambassadors should enjoy no prerogatives or privileges which might place them above the laws of the country. At

most, he was only willing to grant that they should be subject to a higher kind of jurisdiction. "For example," said he, "I have no objection that they "should be brought to trial only after a prelimi- "nary decision of an assemblage of the ministers "and high dignitaries of the empire; that they "should be tried only by a special tribunal, com- "posed of the first magistrates and functionaries "of the state. It will perhaps be said that sove- "reigns, finding their own dignity compromised "in the persons of their representatives, will not "send ambassadors to my court. Well, where "will be the harm of that? I can withdraw mine "from foreign courts, and thus the country will be "relieved from the burden of enormous, and very "frequently, useless salaries. Why should am- "bassadors be exempt from the law? They are sent "with the view of being agreeable, and for the "purpose of maintaining an interchange of friend- "ship and favour between their respective sove- "reigns. If they overstep the limits of their duty "they should be reduced to the class of common "offenders, and placed within the pale of the "general law. I cannot tacitly permit ambassa- "dors at my court to act the part of hired spies; "if I do I must be content to be regarded as a "fool, and to submit to all the mischief to which "I may be exposed. It is only necessary to have "the matter well understood before hand, so as to "obviate t he impropriety of violating received cus-

"toms, and what has hitherto been regarded as the "law of nations.

"During the height of a celebrated crisis," continued the Emperor, "I received information that "a great personage had taken refuge in the house "of M. de Cobentzel, conceiving that he would be "protected under the immunities of the Austrian "ambassador. I summoned the ambassador to "my presence, in order to enquire into the truth of "the fact, and to inform him that it would be most "unfortunate if it were really such as it had been "reported to me. I observed that custom would "be nothing in my eyes when compared with the "safety of a nation; and that I would without he-"sitation order the arrest of the criminal and his "privileged protector, deliver them both up to a "tribunal, and subject them to the full penalties "of the law. And this I would have done, gen-"tlemen," added he, raising his voice. "The "ambassador was aware of my determination, and "therefore my wishes were obeyed without further "opposition."

Long before the expedition to Russia, perhaps a year or two before it was undertaken, the Emperor wished to establish a military classification of the Empire. At the Council of State, there were read fifteen or twenty plans for the embodying of three *bans* of the French national guard. The first, which was to consist of young men, was to march as far as the frontiers; the second, which

was to be composed of middle aged and married men, was not to quit the department to which it belonged; and the third, consisting of men in years, was to be kept solely for the defence of the town, in which it had been raised. The Emperor, who was well convinced of the utility of this plan, frequently recurred to it, and made many patriotic remarks on the subject; but it constantly received marked disapproval from the Council, and experienced a kind of passive and silent opposition. Meanwhile, amidst the multitude of public affairs which claimed the attention of the Emperor, he lost sight of this plan, which his foresight had doubtless calculated for the safety of France, and which was likely to have ensured that result. Upwards of two millions of men would have been classed and armed at the period of our disasters. Who then would have ventured to assail us?

During a discussion on the above subject, the Emperor spoke in a very emphatic and remarkable strain. A member (M. Malouet) in a very circumlocutory style, expressed his disapproval of this plan of organization. The Emperor addressing him in his usual way, said: "Speak boldly, sir, "do not mutilate your ideas: say what you have "to say, freely; we are here by ourselves." The speaker then declared, "that the measure was cal- "culated to inspire general alarm; that every in- "dividual trembled to find himself classed in the

"divisions of the national guard, being persuaded
"that under the pretext of internal defence, the ob-
"ject was to remove the guards from the country."
"Very good!" said the Emperor, "I now under-
"stand you. But, gentlemen," continued he, "ad-
"dressing himself to the members of the Coun-
"cil, you are all fathers of families, possessing am-
"ple fortunes, and filling important posts, you
"must necessarily have numerous dependents;
"and you must either be very mal-adroit, or very
"indifferent, if, with all these advantages, you do
"not exercise a great influence on public opinions.
"Now, how happens it, that you, who know me so
"well, should suffer me to be so little known by
"others? When did you ever know me to employ
"deception and fraud, in my system of govern-
"ment? I am not timid, and I therefore am not
"accustomed to resort to indirect measures. My
"fault is, perhaps, to express myself too abruptly,
"too laconically. I merely pronounce the word,
"I order, and with regard to forms and details, I
"trust to the intermediate agents who execute my
"intentions; and heaven knows, whether on this
"point, I have any great reason to congratulate
"myself. If, therefore, I wanted troops, I should
"boldly demand them of the Senate, who would
"levy them for me; or if I could not obtain them
"from the Senate, I should address myself to the
"people, and you would see them eagerly march
"to join my ranks. Perhaps you are astonished to

"hear me say this, for sometimes you appear not "to have a correct idea of the real state of things. "Know then, that my popularity is immense, and "incalculable; for, whatever may be alleged to "the contrary, the whole of the French people love "and respect me: their good sense is superior to "the malignant reports of my enemies, and the "metaphysical speculations of fools. They would "follow me in defiance of all. You are sur- "prised at these declarations, but they are never- "theless true. The French people know no bene- "factor but me. Through me they fearlessly enjoy "all that they have acquired; through me they "behold their brothers and sons, indiscriminately "promoted, honoured and enriched; through me "they find their hands constantly employed, and "their labour accompanied by its due reward. "They have never had reason to accuse me of in- "justice or prepossession. Now, the people see, feel "and comprehend all this; but they understand "nothing of metaphysics. Not that I am inclined "to repel true and great principles; heaven forbid "that I should. On the contrary, I act upon them "as much as our present extraordinary circum- "stances will permit; but I only mean to say, that "the people do not yet understand them; while "they perfectly understand me, and place implicit "trust in me. Be assured, then, that the people of "France will always conform to the plans, which "we propose for their welfare.

"Do not allow yourselves to be deceived by the "supposed opposition which has just been alluded "to; it exists only in the saloons of Paris, and by "no means in the great body of the nation. In this "plan, I solemnly declare I have no ulterior view of "sending the national guard abroad; my thoughts, "at this moment, are solely occupied in adopting "measures at home, for the safety, repose, and sta-"bility of France. Proceed then to embody the "national guard; that each citizen may know his "post in the hour of need; that even M. Camba-"ceres yonder, may shoulder a musket, should our "danger require him so to do. We shall thus have "a nation built of stone and mortar, capable of re-"sisting the attacks both of time and men. It is "besides my intention to place the national guard "on a level with the regiments of the line; the old "retired officers shall be the chiefs and the fathers "of the corps. I shall have promotion in the na-"tional guard solicited as ardently as court fa-"vours, &c."

All the above must be contained in the registers of M. Locré, partly in discussions relative to the national guard, and partly, as well as I can recollect, on the subject of one of the annual conscriptions. I remember that one day, in particular, there was a long debate respecting the University. The Emperor had expressed himself dissatisfied with the little advancement that was observable in the institution, and the bad system

on which it was conducted. M. Segur was directed to present a report on this subject, which he did with his usual candour and sincerity. He set on foot the necessary inquiries, and found that the Emperor's plans were ill understood and badly executed. Napoleon had wished that erudition should be only a secondary object, that national principles and doctrines should take place of every thing; and yet these principles and doctrines were the subjects to which least attention was devoted.

The Emperor was not present at this sitting; a circumstance which very much mortified the friends of the person principally interested in the question. We were guilty of sacrificing too much to the spirit of *coteries*. The report was never again brought forward; it was withdrawn from our portfolios, and it was made a point of some importance to get it returned from those members of the Council who had carried it home with them.

However, some time after this, the great dignitaries of the University were summoned to the bar of the Council of State. The Emperor expressed his displeasure at the bad management, and the bad spirit which seemed to preside over this important institution. He observed, that all his intentions were frustrated, that his plans were never properly carried into effect, &c. M. de F— crouched beneath the storm, and nevertheless continued his accustomed course. The Emperor said, that on his return from the Island of Elba,

he had been assured that the Grand Master of the University had made a boast to the government that succeeded the empire, of having done all in his power to thwart and misdirect the impulse which Napoleon wished to impart to the rising generation.

Recollections of Waterloo.

18th.—The Emperor sent for me to his study before dinner; he was busy in reading the newspapers which had just arrived. M. de Montholon solicited permission to wait on him. He informed the Emperor that Madame de Montholon had just been brought to bed of a daughter, and requested that his Majesty would do him the honour to stand god-father to the child.

After dinner, the Emperor again looked over the papers which he had already perused, and remarked that France still remained in a state of agitation and uncertainty; he observed, that the latest English papers used the most indecorous language with regard to the royal family. . . . . One article led him to say: "present circumstances, the necessities of the moment, and sympathies of old date, concur in favouring the return of the monks to France. This is a characteristic circumstance in France, as in the territories of the Pope." Then dwelling on the subject of the latter, he continued, "as for the Pope, it is his special affair, and is calculated to"

"restore his power. Would any one believe, that "while he was himself a prisoner at Fontainbleau, "and while the question of his own existence was "under consideration, he argued with me seriously "on the existence of the monks, and endeavoured "to induce me to re-establish them! ..... That "was truly like the court of Rome! ....."

This day was the anniversary of the battle of of Waterloo. The circumstance was mentioned by some one present, and the recollection of it produced a visible impression on the Emperor. "Incomprehensible day," said he in a tone of sorrow. ..... "Concurrence of unheard of fatali- "ties! ..... Grouchy! ..... Ney! ..... Der- "lon! ..... was there treachery, or only misfor- "tune! .... Alas! poor France! ....." Here he covered his eyes with his hands. "And yet," said he, "all that human skill could do was ac- "complished! ..... All was not lost until the "moment when all had succeeded! ...."

A short time afterwards, alluding to the same subject, he exclaimed; "In that extraordinary "campaign, thrice, in less than a week's space, "I saw the certain triumph of France, and the de- "termination of her fate slip through my fingers.

"Had it not been for the desertion of a traitor, "I should have annihilated the enemy at the open- "ing of the campaign.

"I should have destroyed him at Ligny, if my "left had done its duty.

" I should have destroyed him again at Water-
" loo if my right had not failed me.

" ..... Singular defeat, by which, notwith-
" standing the most fatal catastrophe, the glory of
" the conquered has not suffered, nor the fame of
" the conqueror been encreased: the memory of
" the one will survive his destruction; the memory
" of the other will perhaps be buried in his tri-
" umph! ....."

Departure of the Northumberland.—On the introduction and form given to the Campaigns of Italy.—The Russian Campaign, by an Aide-de-Camp of the Vice-Roy.

19th.—To day the Northumberland sailed for Europe.

This vessel had conveyed us to St. Helena; we had in course of our voyage maintained friendly intercourse with the officers; the crew had shewn us great kindness, and we had received attentions from Admiral Cockburn himself, towards whom we entertained more of ill-humour than absolute dislike, and whose conduct, after all had not been of a nature to wound our feelings. Whether from all these circumstances combined, or some others which had escaped our notice, or whether owing to that powerful and natural inclination which leads us to attach ourselves to our fellow-creatures, and to cherish social feelings with regard to each other, I know not; but it is certain that we did not feel indifferent to the departure of the

Northumberland. It seemed as though we lost something in thus bidding adieu to our old shipmates.

The Emperor had passed a very bad night; he bathed his feet, to relieve a violent head-ache.

About one o'clock he went to take a walk in the garden, having in his hand the first volume of an English work, respecting his own life. He turned it over as he walked about. This work had evidently been written in a less malignant spirit than Goldsmith's. It certainly exhibited less grossness; but it contained the same inventions, the same false statements, and displayed the same ignorance. The Emperor read the article relative to his childhood, and that period of his early life which he spent at College. The whole was a tissue of misrepresentation; and this led him to remark, that I had been very right in suggesting that a narrative of the events of his early career should be prefixed to the campaign of Italy; and he added that what he had just read had fully confirmed him in favour of this idea.

I ought before to have mentioned, that after the dictation of the campaigns of Italy was concluded, and after it had all been arranged into chapters, the Emperor was still undecided as to the manner in which he should form an introduction to it. He had changed his mind frequently on this subject; and had conceived many different ideas, which he by turns abandoned and

resumed. Sometimes he was inclined to commence with a few unimportant enterprizes in which he had been engaged before the seige of Toulon; such as an expedition to Sardinia, which had failed, &c. At other times he determined to open the subject by describing the first events of the French revolution, the state of Europe and the movements of our armies. I always disapproved these ideas, which, I conceived, would carry him back to too remote a period. He had begun by dictating to me the siege of Toulon, and this I maintained was the proper point of departure, and the most natural arrangement, since he had not undertaken to write a history, but only his private Memoirs. In this grand episode of the history of ages, he might, I said, to appear all at once on the theatre of the world, and to occupy the fore-ground which he was destined never afterwards to quit it. It is my place, as editor, to record, in any introduction which I might think proper to make, all the details of Napoleon's early life, and of the events anterior to the period to which his own dictations referred. The Emperor approved of this idea; and after discussing it one day during dinner, he decided on its adoption. The form that has been given to the campaigns of Italy was determined on by the above considerations, and to this subject the Emperor alluded in his remark just mentioned, respecting the introduction to the campaigns.

At three o'clock the governor and the new ad-

nural, Sir Pultney Malcolm, were presented to the Emperor, who, though labouring under indisposition, was nevertheless very gracious and talkative.

Both before and after dinner the Emperor amused himself by looking over a work on the Russian campaign, written by an officer who had formerly been one of the Viceroy's aides-de-camp. The Emperor had heard it described as a most odious production; but he has been so accustomed to the attacks of libelists, that declamation has but little effect upon him. In works of this kind he looks to facts only; and under this point of view he did not find the publication in question so bad as it had been represented to him. "An historian," said he, "would select from it only what is "good; he would take the facts and omit the de-"clamation, which is only calculated to please "fools. The author of this work proves that the "Russians themselves burnt Moscow, Smolen-"sko, &c.; he describes the French as having "been victorious in every engagement. The facts "that are to be found in this work," continued the Emperor, "have evidently been described for the "purpose of being published during my reign, in "the period of my power. The declamatory pas-"sages have been interpolated since my fall. The author could not easily pervert the ground-work of his subject, though he has interspersed it with abusive remarks after the fashion of the day.

"As to the disasters of my retreat I left him

"nothing to say any more than other libelists. "My 29th bulletin plunged them into despair. In "their rage they accused me of exaggeration. "They were provoked to a pitch of madness. I "thus deprived them of an excellent subject, I "carried off their prey."

The Emperor quoted several passages from the works of this and some other French authors, all of whom declaimed against their countrymen, and gave a false picture of their achievements. He could not refrain from observing that it was a circumstance unexampled in history to see a nation strive to depreciate her own glory, to see her own sons thus intent on destroying her trophies. "But "from the bosom of France avengers will doubtless rise up. Posterity will brand with disgrace "the madness of the present day. Can these be "Frenchmen," he exclaimed, "who speak and "write in this strain? Are their hearts dead to "every spark of patriotism?—But no, they cannot "be Frenchmen! They speak our language, it is "true; they were born on the same soil with us; "but they are not animated by the feelings and "principles of Frenchmen!"

Prophetic remarks.—Lord Holland.—The Princess Charlotte of Wales.—Conversation relating to myself.

21st.—The Emperor took a walk in the garden attended by his suite. The conversation turned on the possibility of our returning to Europe and seeing France once again. "My dear friends," said he, in a tone of sincere feeling, and with an expression which it is impossible to describe, "You will return!"—"Not without you," we all exclaimed with one voice. This led us once more to analyse the probable chances of our quitting St. Helena, and all yielded to the necessity of admitting that our removal could only take place through the intervention of the English. But the Emperor could not imagine how this intervention was likely to be brought about. "The impression is made," said he; "it "has taken too deep a root; they will everlast- "ingly fear me. Pitt told them, There can be "no safety for you, with a man who has a whole "invasion in his own head." "But," observed some one present, "suppose new interests should "rise up in England; suppose a truly constitu- "tional and liberal ministry should be established, "would the English government find no advan- "tage in fixing through you, Sire, liberal princi- "ples in France, and thereby propagating them "throughout Europe?" "Certainly," replied the

Emperor, "I admit all this." "Well then," continued the individual who had first spoken, "would not this constitutional administration "find a guarantee in these liberal principles, and "in your own interests?" "I admit this also," replied the Emperor. "I can suppose Lord Hol- "land, as Prime Minister of England, writing to "me at Paris; if you do so and so I shall be "ruined; or the Princess Charlotte of Wales, "who we will suppose to have removed me "hence, saying to me: if you act thus, I shall be "hated and shall be looked upon as the scourge "of my country. At these words I should stop "short:—they would arrest me in my career "more effectually than armies.

"And after all, what is there to fear? That "I should wage war? I am now too old for that. "Is it feared that I should resume my pursuit of "glory? I have enjoyed glory even to satiety. "I have wallowed in it; and it may be said to be "a thing which I have henceforth rendered at "once common and difficult. Is it supposed that "I would recommence my conquests? I did not "persevere in them through mania; they were "the result of a great plan, and I may even say "that I was urged to them by necessity. They "were reasonable at the moment when I pursued "them; but they would now be impossible. They "were practicable once; but now it would be "madness to attempt them. And besides, the

" convulsions and misfortunes to which France " has been subjected, will henceforth give rise to " so many difficulties, that to remove them will " be a sufficient source of glory without seeking " for any other."

Two of the gentlemen of the Emperor's suite had been to the town to see the persons who had newly arrived at the Island, and to hear the news of the day. The account which they delivered on their return occupied the Emperor's attention for some minutes in the garden. About six o'clock he proceeded to his closet desiring me to follow him; and by chance a conversation was introduced, which to me was in the highest degree interesting and valuable. Though the subject of this conversation relates only to myself personally, yet I cannot pass it over in silence; it developes so many characteristic traits of the Emperor, that these would furnish a sufficient apology for my laying it before the reader, were any apology necessary.

The persons who had arrived by the Newcastle had spoken much of my Historical Atlas, which led the Emperor again to remark on the extraordinary celebrity of the work, and to express his surprise that he should not sooner have become thoroughly acquainted with it.

" How happened it," said he, " that none of " your friends should have given me a correct " idea of it? I never saw it until I was on board

"the Northumberland, and now I find it is "known to every body. How came you never "to call my attention to it yourself? I should "have appreciated your merits, and should have "made your fortune. I had formed a confused "and indifferent idea of your work, which per"haps influenced my mind unfavourably with "respect to yourself. Such is the misfortune of "Sovereigns; for doubtless no one entertained "better intentions than myself. Those who filled "posts about my person might easily have "brought me to render full justice to the merit "of your work; for it was a thing that I could "myself judge of, and I asked nothing more. "Since I have become acquainted with your "charts, and am enabled to form a correct notion "of their valuable classification, and the indeli"ble impression which they are calculated to "make on the memory, with regard to dates, "places, and collateral relations, I regret not "having established a kind of Normal School, in "which the students should have been uniformly "instructed by the help of the Historical Atlas. "Our Lyceums would have been inundated with "your work, or parts of it, and I would have en"sured to it the utmost degree of celebrity. "Why, I say again, did you not call my atten"tion to it? It is painful to confess the secret; "but it is nevertheless true, that a little intrigue "is indispensable to those who wish to gain the

"favour of Sovereigns; modest merit is almost
"always neglected. But, perhaps, after all
"Clarke, Decrès, Montalivet, M. de Montes
"quiou, or even Barbier, my librarian, might
"have withheld the hints which you intended
"they should throw out to me; for it is another
"mortifying truth, that favours are sometimes
"more attainable through the medium of the
"*valet-de-chambre* than by a higher channel! And
"how happened it, that your friend Madame de
"S . . . . . did not speak to me of your work?
"We frequently rode in the same carriage toge-
"ther; and she might have secured to you all the
"advantages she could have wished, by describ-
"ing your real merits to me."—"Yes, Sire," I replied, "but at that time I . . . . ." "I under-
"stand you. You did not then perhaps seek
"favours?" "Sire, my hour had not yet arrived."
Then ensued a very long explanation respecting my first introduction to the Emperor, the missions to which he had appointed me, the opinion he had formed of me, and which, according to custom, had remained permanently fixed in his mind.

All this time I was standing near the writing table in the second chamber, while the Emperor walked backward and forward through the whole length of both rooms. The subject of the conversation was to me most interesting. But to form a just conception of my feelings at this moment,

it would be necessary to look back to the time of Napoleon's power, to that period when no one dared hope to know his thoughts, or ever to suppose the possibility of conversing familiarly and confidentially with him. Such a happy circumstance would then have appeared to me a dream: and now I almost regard it as a conversation in the Elysian Fields.

"I had no correct idea of you," said the Emperor, "I had no precise knowledge of any thing "that concerned you. You had no friend near "me to commend you to my notice, and you "neglected to put yourself forward. Some of "those individuals on whom perhaps you thought "you could rely, even acted in a way prejudicial "to your interest. I knew nothing of your work; "if I had, it would have been a powerful circumstance in your favour: I was not aware that "you had, like myself, attended the military "school at Paris; that would have been another "claim to my notice.

"You had been an emigrant; you would therefore never have enjoyed my full confidence. I "knew that you had been much attached to the "Bourbons; you would therefore never have "been initiated in the great secrets of my government."—"But Sire," I replied, "your Majesty permitted me to approach your person, "you made me a Counsellor of State, and entrusted me with various missions."—"That was

"because I conceived you to be an honest man;
"and besides I am not of a distrustful dispo-
"sition. Without knowing why, I considered
"you to be a man of pure integrity in all that re-
"garded pecuniary matters. If you had only men-
"tioned a single word to me about your affair of
"the commercial licences with P . . . . . .,
"I would have instantly rendered you justice.
"But, I say again, I should never have employed
"you in any political affair."—"Then Sire," said
I, "what risk did I not run, when in Paris and
"Holland! The English were then situated with
"respect to us as we now are with respect to
"them, and influenced by my old connections,
"I ventured in spite of your regulations to for-
"ward their letters, when they appeared to me
"to contain nothing objectionable. To what
"danger should I not have been exposed had my
"conduct led to any accusation on the part of
"the Minister of Police! And yet I conceived
"that I was only making a very natural and dis-
"cretionary use of the powers with which Your
"Majesty had entrusted me and the confidence
"which you had reposed in me. I felt so satis-
"fied in my own conscience, and was so con-
"vinced of the propriety of my intentions, that
"I thought myself exempt from the observance
"of regulations which seemed not to have
"been made for me."—"Well," observed the
Emperor, "I could have conceived all this, I

"should readily have given you credit for such "an explanation of your conduct; for no one is "more ready to listen to reason than I. This "was precisely the manner in which I wished "duty to be performed; and yet it is certain "that you would have been condemned had your "conduct been the subject of enquiry, because "all would have raised their voices against you. "Such was the fatality of circumstances and the "misfortune of my situation. Besides, when "once I conceived a prejudice, I retained it: "this again was the misfortune of my situation "and my circumstances. But how could it be "otherwise? I had no time for details. I could "only take into consideration summaries and ab-"stracts. I was very sure that I might sometimes "be deceived; but where was my alternative? "Few sovereigns have done better than I."

"Sire," said I, "I experienced deep mortifi-"cation, at finding that your Majesty never ad-"dressed a word to me at your court circles and "levees. And yet you never failed to speak of "me to my wife when I happened to be absent: "I sometimes thought that I was not well known "to you, or feared, particularly during latter "times, that your Majesty had some cause to be "displeased with me."—"By no means," re-sumed the Emperor; "If I spoke of you when "absent, it was because I made it a rule always "to speak to ladies about their husbands when

"the latter were sent on missions. If I neglected "you when present, it was because I attached "too little value to you. It was the same with "many other individuals; you were confounded "with the mass, you held only an ordinary rank "in my regard. You were permitted to approach "me, and yet you did not turn this privilege to "good account; you were sent on missions, and "yet you neglected to reap the benefit of these "appointments on your return home. It is a "great fault to keep in the back ground at court. "To my eyes you were in fact a mere blank. "Nevertheless I recollect that I sometimes en- "tertained thoughts of employing you. The in- "dividual connected with the ministry, on whom "you, in some measure depended, who declared "himself to be your friend, and who had it in "his power to serve you, averted my attention "from you, and contributed to keep up my in- "difference towards you. He knew you well, "and perhaps feared you; and it is well known "that in all cases I went rapidly to work."— "Sire," I replied, "my situation was the more "painful since my friends were constantly con- "gratulating me on the favours which I received "at Court, and predicting the brilliant fortune "that awaited me. Reports were continually "raised of my having been appointed to all sorts "of posts:—sometimes it was asserted that I had "been created Maritime Prefect of Brest, Toulon,

"or Antwerp; that I had been made Minister of "the Interior or of the Marine; or that I had "received an important trust connected with the "education of the King of Rome, &c."—"Well," said the Emperor, "now that you call the matter "to my recollection, some of these reports were "not entirely destitute of foundation. I certainly "did entertain the idea of employing you to "assist in the education of the King of Rome; "and I also intended on your return to Holland, "to appoint you to be Maritime Prefect of Tou-"lon, which at that time I regarded as a sort of "ministry. There were five and twenty ships of "the line in the roads, and I wished to augment "their number. In this instance, your friend, "the Minister, turned my attention from you. "You belonged to the old navy, he observed; "your prejudices and those of the new officers "must inevitably clash together. This appeared "to me a decided objection to your appointment, "and I thought no more about you; but now, "since I have come to know you, I find that you "were precisely the man I wanted. I think too, "that I entertained some other ideas respecting "your advancement; but I must again repeat "that you neglected your own interests. You "retreated when you ought to have marched "forward. Need I tell you, that with the best in-"tentions on my part, the chance against procur-"ing an appointment to an important post was as

"great as that of winning a prize in the lottery.
"An idea occurred to me, and I formed my de-
"cision; but if that decision were not immedi-
"ately carried into effect, it escaped my recol-
"lection; for I had so much business on my
"hands. A luckier candidate was then proposed,
"and he was installed in office."—"But I in-
"terrupt you . . . . . .

"Sire," continued I, "being ignorant of your
"Majesty's good intentions with respect to me,
"I was placed in a situation truly ridiculous,
"amidst the numerous congratulations that I
"received. I endeavoured to extricate myself
"from all this embarrassment with the best pos-
"sible grace; but the more efforts I made for
"this purpose, the more I was blamed for my
"modesty. I never asked your Majesty for
"more than one thing, and that was the situation
"of Master of Requests, which was immediately
granted to me. Clarke reproached me with
"having lowered my dignity by making such a
"solicitation. He said I should have asked to
"have been made a Counsellor of State; and
"that your Majesty would have granted my re-
"quest."—"No," replied the Emperor, "I did
"not know you well enough for that. I should
"have looked upon such a request as the result
"of silly ambition."—"Sire," I observed, "I
"had sufficient tact to guess what your opinion
"would be."—"Well," continued the Emperor,

"that was odd enough. But perhaps Clarke was "right after all. The solicitation of the inferior "post of Master of Requests might have injured "you in my opinion; that is to say, it might "have tended to fix you in the rank in which I "had classed you. I was very well pleased to "see my chamberlains have something to do; "but Master of Requests was too trivial a post. "It is curious," continued he, "how my memory "revives, now that I am speaking on this sub-"ject. You had performed detached services, "which had rapidly escaped my recollection, "because my attention had never been directed "to them. If they had been presented to my "notice all in a mass, they must have given me "a very different opinion of you. You served as "a volunteer at Flushing. I knew this; and "what I should have regarded as a mere matter "of course in any other individual, forcibly struck "me in an emigrant, who had for this purpose "quitted his family, and who was not without "fortune."—"Sire, I received the most grati-"fying reward on my return. Your Majesty "spoke to me on the subject."—"But," said he, "you suffered this to be lost in the flood of ob-"livion. You addressed several written com-"munications to me. All these things occur to "my recollection by degrees. You transmitted "to me some plans respecting the Adriatic Sea, "with which I was much pleased. The sugges-

" tion was to get possession of the Adriatic, and " to establish a fleet there. Ships could have " been built at no vast expense, with the wood " produced in the immense forests of Croatia. " I submitted the whole to the Minister, who " never more mentioned the subject to me. But " you presented some other things to my notice." —" Sire, you probably allude to the ideas re- " specting the system of maritime warfare to be " adopted against England, accompanied by an " explanatory map."—" Yes, I recollect. The " map lay for several days on the desk in my " closet. I expressed a wish to see you; but " you were absent on a mission."

" Sire, about the same time I had the honour " to address to you a plan for transforming the " Champ-de-Mars into a *Naumachia*, which " would have been an ornament to the palace of " the King of Rome. I proposed that the basin " should be dug sufficiently deep to admit the " launching of small corvettes which might have " been built, rigged, manned and worked by the " pupils of the naval school, which, according to " my plan was to be established at the military " school. All the Princes of the Imperial house " might have been required to devote themselves " to these naval exercises for the space of two " years, whatever might have been their ultimate " destination. Your Majesty might have induced " the distinguished families of the empire, thus to

"procure for their sons a knowledge of naval "affairs. I doubted not, but that all these cir- "cumstances combined, and the spectacle pre- "sented to the capital, would infallibly have "rendered the navy at once popular and na- "tional in France."—"Ah! I was not aware of "the extent of your plan," said the Emperor, in whose mind every idea immediately became magnified. "This design would have pleased "me. It might have produced immense results. "From this plan there was but a step to that of "rendering the Seine navigable, and cutting a "canal from Paris to the sea. This could not "have been regarded as too stupendous an enter- "prise; for more was done by the Romans of "ancient times, and more has already been "effected by the Chinese of the present day. It "would have afforded a pastime to the army in "time of peace. I had conceived many plans of "the same kind. But our enemies kept me "chained to war. Of what glory have they "robbed me! . . . . But continue."—"Sire, I "also submitted to your Majesty's consideration "some ideas respecting the completion of the "naval schools."—"Did I adopt them in the "schools which I established;" inquired the Em- peror. "Did your opinions coincide with mine?" "Sire, the plans for your schools were already "determined on; I merely suggested a few hints "for their completion."—"Oh, now I recollect

" something of the matter. But I think your " ideas were a little too democratic; were they " not?"—" No Sire, I set out from the principle " that your Majesty had provided for the exclu- " sive competition of the intermediate class, and " I proposed to add below it, all the chances " that might be presented by the competition of " seamen; and above it, all the chances that " might arise out of the competition of indi- " viduals connected with the Court."—" Yes, I " recollect," said the Emperor, " your ideas " were novel and singular, and they attracted my " attention. I submitted the plan to the Minis- " ter, who either kept it for his own use, or " turned it into ridicule. I also remember that " in the correspondence relative to your mission " to Holland, which I ordered to be laid before " me, there was mentioned a plan for removing " our ships from the German ocean to the Baltic, " by means of canals, which should unite the " Elbe, the Oder, and the Vistula. This idea " pleased me; it was after my own taste. And " on your return, seeing you at my levee, I was " about to propose to you some measure for the " execution of your plan. But you did not seem " to comprehend my questions, or you gave me " unsatisfactory and undecided answers. I con- " cluded that the ideas had probably been sug- " gested by some one else, and that you were " taking credit for them. I therefore left you,

" and turned to speak to your neighbour. I was " to blame for acting thus precipitately; but I " could not help it.

" When I call to mind all these circumstances, " I find that I had so many motives for bestowing attention on you, that I am astonished I " should have neglected you; and I cannot help " thinking that you must have manœuvred admirably, before you could have succeeded in " withdrawing yourself so completely from my " notice. It is very certain that all these facts " have but just now occurred to me; and at the " period of our departure, and some time after, " you were, with the exception of your name " and person, a stranger to me. I looked upon " you as an individual of whom I knew nothing. " How do you account for this? You cannot " perhaps explain it; but it is nevertheless " true.

" I ask again, why you did not avail yourself of " the good offices of your friends; or why you " did not appeal to me in person?"—" Sire, those " who enjoyed the privilege of approaching most " nearly to your person, were intent only on " advancing their own interests. Their friendship did not extend beyond mere good wishes. " To speak a word for another, was what they " called using their influence; and that was re- " served solely for their own advantage. Be- " sides even though I had had the opportunity

"of speaking for myself, I should always have "preferred others to speak for me. You, Sire, "had but little leisure, your arrangements were "very uncertain, it was necessary to explain "every thing to you in few words:—At the same "time, I had so little confidence in myself, and "was so fearful of creating an unfavourable im-"pression, that I preferred withdrawing myself "from your notice. For it was not sufficient to "enter into intrigue; it was necessary that the "intrigue should be brought to a result."—"Perhaps it was as well after all," said the Emperor, "You have judged the matter rightly; "for even had I known as much of you as I now "do, your reserve and timidity would perhaps "have ruined you. I now recollect a circum-"stance, which probably operated to your pre-"judice. When M. de Montesquiou proposed "you as a chamberlain, he represented you as "being possessed of vast fortune; but I soon "learned the contrary. I do not mean to say "that this circumstance was in any way injuri-"ous to you, or that it afforded any ground of "objection to you personally; but other indi-"viduals, who wished to be appointed Chamber-"lains, complained of not having been preferred "on account of their superior fortune, or quoted "your example, if they thought themselves neg-"lected on the score of their poverty. This is "the way at Court."

"It appears evident Sire, that with my cha-
"racter, I was destined never to be known to
"your Majesty."—"Yes," said the Emperor,
"and it had nearly happened so. But yet, on
"my return did I not appoint you a Chamber-
"lain? and their number was very limited. Did
"I not immediately create you a Counsellor of
"State? You had been a member of the old
"aristocracy, you had been an emigrant, and you
"had undergone great trials; all these were
"powerful recommendations to me. Besides, at
"that time, so many voices were raised in praise
"of your conduct, that sooner or later I must
"have known you thoroughly."

Arrival of the Library.—Hornemann's testimony in favour of General Bonaparte.

22d.—To-day the weather was very bad. The Emperor sent for me about three o'clock. He was in the topographical cabinet, surrounded by all the individuals of his suite, who were engaged in unpacking some boxes of books which had arrived by the Newcastle. The Emperor himself helped to unpack, and seemed to be highly amused with the occupation. Men naturally model themselves to their circumstances: their enjoyments are trivial in proportion as their sufferings are severe. On seeing the file of Moniteurs, which had been so long expected, he ex-

pressed unfeigned delight: he took it up and began eagerly to peruse it.

After dinner the Emperor looked over Park's and Hornemann's Travels in Africa, and he traced their course on my Atlas. In these narratives, Hornemann, and the African Society of London, bore ample testmony to the generous assistance they had received from the General-in-chief of the army of Egypt, (Napoleon) who had seized every opportunity of promoting their discoveries. The polite and handsome manner in which these facts were mentioned was very gratifying to the Emperor, who had been long accustomed to find his name connected with insulting epithets.

On memory.—Trade.—Napoleon's ideas and plans on several points of political economy.

23rd.—I attended the Emperor about three o'clock. He had been so delighted at the receipt of his new books, that he had passed the whole night in reading and dictating notes to Marchand. He was very much fatigued; but my visit afforded him a little respite. He dressed and went out to walk in the garden.

During dinner the Emperor alluded to his immense reading in his youth; and he found from all the books he had perused relative to Egypt; that he had scarcely any thing to correct

in what he had dictated on Egypt; he had stated many facts which he had not read; but which, on reference to these books, he found to be correct.

The conversation turned on the subject of memory. The Emperor remarked, that a head without memory was like a garrison without fortifications. His he said was a useful kind of memory. It was not general and absolute; but relative, faithful, and only retentive of what was necessary. Some one present observed, that his own memory was like his sight, that it became confused by the distance of places and objects as he removed from one situation to another; upon which the Emperor replied, that for his part his memory was like his heart, that it preserved a faithful impression of all that ever had been dear to him.

A propos of good memory and fond recollections, I must here note down a remark of the Emperor, which I omitted to mention at the time it was made. One day at dinner, while describing one of his engagements in Egypt, he named numerically the eight or ten demi-brigades which had been engaged. On hearing this, Madame Bertrand could not refrain from asking how, after so long a lapse of time, he could possibly recollect all these numbers. "Madam, this "is a lover's recollection of his former mistresses," was Napoleon's reply.

After dinner the Emperor ordered my Atlas to be brought to him, for the purpose of verifying the particulars which he had collected in his books on Africa, and he was astonished to find every thing correspond so accurately.

He then began to converse on trade, and the principles and systems which he had introduced. He opposed the principles of economists, which he said were correct in theory though erroneous in their application. The political constitution of different states, continued he, must render these principles defective; local circumstances continually call for deviations from their uniformity. Duties, he said, which were so severely condemned by political economists, should not, it is true, be an object to the treasury: they should be the guarantee and protection of a nation, and should correspond with the nature and the objects of its trade. Holland, which is destitute of productions and manufactures, and which was a trade only of transit and commission, should be free of all fetters and barriers. France, on the contrary, which is rich in every sort of production and manufactures, should incessantly guard against the importations of a rival, who might still continue superior to her, and also against the cupidity, egotism, and indifference of mere brokers.

"I have not fallen into the error of modern "systematizers," said the Emperor, "who im-

"gine that all the wisdom of nations is centered "in themselves. Experience is the true wisdom "of nations. And what does all the reasoning "of economists amount to? They incessantly "extol the prosperity of England, and hold her "up as our model; but the Custom-House sys- "tem is more burthensome and arbitrary in "England than in any other country. They also "condemn prohibitions; yet it was England set "the example of prohibitions, and they are in "fact necessary with regard to certain objects. "Duties cannot adequately supply the place of "prohibitions: there will always be found means "to defeat the object of the legislator. In France "we are still very far behind on these delicate "points, which are still unperceived or ill-under- "stood by the mass of society. Yet what "advancement have we not made,—what cor- "rectness of ideas has been introduced by my "gradual classification of agriculture, industry, "and trade; objects so distinct in themselves, "and which present so great and positive "a graduation!

"1st.—*Agriculture;* the soul, the first basis of "the empire.

"2nd.—*Industry;* the comfort and happiness of "the population.

"3rd.—*Foreign trade;* the superabundance, the "proper application of the surplus of agriculture "and industry.

" Agriculture was continually improving dur-
" ing the whole course of the revolution. Fo-
" reigners thought it ruined in France. In 1814,
" however, the English were compelled to admit
" that we had little or nothing to learn from them.

" Industry or manufactures, and internal trade,
" made immense progress during my reign. The
" application of chemistry to the manufactures
" caused them to advance with giant strides. I
" gave an impulse, the effects of which extended
" throughout Europe.

" Foreign trade, which in its results is infi-
" nitely inferior to agriculture, was an object of
" subordinate importance in my mind. Foreign
" trade is made for agriculture and home industry,
" and not the two latter for the former. The
" interests of these three fundamental cases are
" diverging and frequently conflicting. I always
" promoted them in their natural gradation; but
" I could not and ought not to have ranked them
" all on an equality. Time will unfold what I
" have done, the national resources which I
" created, and the emancipation from the Eng-
" lish which I brought about. We have now the
" secret of the commercial treaty of 1783. France
" still exclaims against its author; but the Eng-
" lish demanded it on pain of resuming the
" war. They wished to do the same after the
" treaty of Amiens; but I was then all-powerful;
" I was a hundred cubits high. I replied that if

" they were in possession of the heights of Mont-
" martre I would still refuse to sign the treaty.
" These words we echoed through Europe.

" The English will now impose some such
" treaty on France, at least if popular clamour,
" and the opposition of the mass of the nation,
" do not force them to draw back. This thral-
" dom would be an additional disgrace in the
" eyes of that nation, which is now beginning to
" acquire a just perception of her own interests.

" When I came to the head of the government,
" the American ships, which were permitted to
" enter our ports on the score of their neutrality,
" brought us raw materials, and had the impu-
" dence to sail from France without freight, for
" the purpose of taking in cargoes of English
" goods in London. They moreover had the in-
" solence to make their payments, when they had
" any to make, by giving bills on persons in
" London. Hence the vast profits reaped by the
" English manufacturers and brokers, entirely to
" our prejudice. I made a law that no American
" should import goods to any amount, without
" immediately exporting their exact equivalent.
" A loud outcry was raised against this: it was
" said that I had ruined trade. But what was the
" consequence? Notwithstanding the closing of
" my ports, and in spite of the English who ruled
" the seas, the Americans returned and submitted

" to my regulations. What might I not have
" done under more favourable circumstances ?

" Thus I naturalized in France the manufac-
" ture of cotton, which includes :—

" 1st *Spun-cotton.*—We did not previously spin
" it ourselves; the English supplied us with it
" as a sort of favour.

" 2d. *The web.*—We did not yet make it; it
" came to us from abroad.

" 3d. *The printing.*—This was the only part of
" the manufacture that we performed ourselves.
" I wished to naturalize the two first branches;
" and I proposed to the Council of State, that
" their importation should be prohibited. This
" excited great alarm. I sent for Oberkamp,
" and I conversed with him a long time. I
" learned from him, that this prohibition would
" doubtless produce a shock, but that after a
" year or two of perseverance, it would prove a
" triumph, whence we should derive immense
" advantages. Then I issued my decree in spite
" of all; this was a true piece of statesmanship.

" I at first confined myself merely to prohibit-
" ing the web; then I extended the prohibition
" to spun cotton; and we now possess within
" ourselves the three branches of the cotton ma-
" nufacture to the great benefit of our population,
" and the injury and regret of the English:—
" which proves that in civil government as well

" as in war, decision of character is often indis-
" pensable to success. I offered a million of
" francs as a reward for the discovery of a me-
" thod of spinning flax like cotton, and this dis-
" covery would undoubtedly have been made,
" but for our unfortunate circumstances. I should
" then have prohibited cotton if I could not have
" naturalized it on the continent.

" The encouragement of the production of silk
" was an object that equally claimed my atten-
" tion. As Emperor of France and King of Italy
" I calculated on receiving an annual revenue of
" 120 millions from the production of silk.

" The system of commercial licences was no
" doubt mischievous! Heaven forbid that I should
" have laid it down as a principle. It was the
" invention of the English; with me it was only
" a momentary resource. Even the continental
" system, in its extent and rigour, was by me
" regarded merely as a measure occasioned by
" the war and temporary circumstances.

" The difficulties and even the total stagnation
" of foreign trade during my reign, arose out of
" the force of circumstances and the accidents of
" the time. One brief interval of peace would
" immediately have restored it to its natural
" level."

Artillery.—Its use.—Its defects.—Old Schools.

24th.—The Emperor informed us that he had spent full four and twenty hours in reading the Moniteur on the subject of the Constituent Assembly. He said he had found these accounts as amusing as a romance; they mark the first rise of those men, who had, at a later period played so distinguished a part. However, he said it was necessary to have an idea of the external springs of action, otherwise the reports of the proceedings of the Constituent Assembly lost much of their interest, and were frequently unintelligible. The spirit of the first moments, the first interests of the Revolution remained entirely hidden.

After dinner the Emperor conversed on the subject of Artillery. He had wished for more uniformity and less of sub-division in the pieces. The general was often unable to judge of the best mode of employing them, and nothing could be superior to the advantages of uniformity in all the instruments and accessaries of war.

The Emperor observed that in general the artillery did not fire sufficiently in a battle. The principal consideration in war is, that there should be no want of ammunition. When there is an actual scarcity, of course that forms an exception; but in every other case, it is necessary to fire incessantly. The Emperor, who had him-

self often been nearly killed by spent balls, and who knew how important such an event would have been to the fate of the battle or the campaign, maintained the propriety of firing continually, without calculating expense. Moreover, he said, that if he wished to avoid the post of danger, he would station himself at the distance of 300 toises, rather than at 600. At the first mentioned point, the balls frequently pass over the head; but the latter they must fall some where or other.

He remarked, that it was impossible to make artillery fire on masses of infantry, when they were themselves assailed by an opposite battery. This arises from natural cowardice said he, good humouredly, from the irresistible instinct of self-preservation. An artillery officer who was among us protested against this observation.—"It is "nevertheless true," continued the Emperor, "you immediately stand on your guard against "the enemy who attacks you. You seek to "destroy him lest he should destroy you. You "often relinquish your firing, that he may cease "to harass you, and direct his charge against the "masses of infantry who are of much greater "importance to the fate of the battle."

The Emperor frequently adverted to the corps of artillery in which he had served in his youth. He said it was the best constituted corps in Europe. It was a sort of family service. The offi-

cers were quite of a paternal turn; the bravest and worthiest men in the world; pure as gold. They were somewhat too far advanced in life, because the peace had continued too long. The young men laughed at them because sarcasm and irony were the fashion of the day; but they adored them, and never failed to render justice to their merits.*

25th.—We have received the third and last package of books brought by the frigate. The Emperor has greatly fatigued himself by assisting in unpacking and arranging them.

About three o'clock several persons were presented to the Emperor; among others the Admiral and his lady. The Emperor was indisposed, and he dined in his own chamber attended by the Grand Marshal.

My directions and last wishes respecting the printing of the Campaign of Italy.—The Emperor's opinion of General Dumouriez.—On the battle of Hohenlinden.

26th.—The Emperor sent for me and my son, and set us to look over the Moniteurs for the purpose of comparing and completing the manuscripts of the Campaigns of Italy.

The Emperor, though he had announced his intention of doing so, had not yet resumed his

* Napoleon, in his will, has given proof of this sentiment by a bequest in favour of his old chief of artillery or his children.

dictations, and I rejoiced at a circumstance which promised at length to excite renewed interest.

Our business was to select from the Moniteur all the reports and official letters, for the purpose of vouchers. The Emperor wished them to be properly classed, and desired us to make a computation of their extent, in order that he might be able to calculate at once the space they would occupy when printed, reminding me at the same time that these were henceforth my own affairs; that I should only be serving myself for the future. Delightful words, to which the tone of his voice, his familiar air, and his whole expression, imparted even more value than was conveyed in their meaning!

The Emperor so often repeated to me that this account of the Campaigns of Italy should bear my name, and that he made me a present of it, that I may perhaps be allowed to indulge my dreams respecting their future publication, and to set down here my ideas on the subject, in order that they may be followed up by my son, if I should not myself be enabled to carry them into effect.

The Emperor has presented me with a valuable, a magnificent, a national monument; I must not compromise, or degrade it. There must be no speculations on the subject, and above all, no considerations of pecuniary advantage must be permitted to operate to its detriment. Nor is

this all: it is moreover my wish to bestow on it all those peculiar attentions and marks of sentiment to which it is entitled.

Therefore, 1st. To keep the copyright of the work, which will form at least four volumes.

2d. The printing to be superintended, and its expenses to be defrayed by me or my son.

3rd. To endeavour to get the plans drawn by officers of the army of Italy; and to get the work printed, and if possible sold, by persons who have served in the same army. This happy coincidence would be most gratifying to me.

4th. As there is not a word in the whole narrative which has not proceeded from the Emperor's mouth, as it is throughout his own dictation, I am anxious that it should not, under any pretext whatever, undergo the slightest alteration or correction, unless by means of notes, which should at the same time explain the reason for such alteration.

5th. To compose an introduction to it from a recapitulation of all that I have collected in my journal relative to the first years of the Emperor's life, previous to the commencement of the campaign.

6th. To prepare 100 copies in the most splendid style possible, without any regard to expense; to be sold, whatever may be their intrinsic value, at 1000 *francs each*. To all these copies may be attached not a *fac-simile*, but a few lines of the

real hand-writing of Napoleon, of which I have a certain quantity in my possession.

7th. To keep in reserve a second hundred of copies similar to the preceding; to be afterwards sold, when the former are disposed of at 500 *francs each.*

8th. After these 200 copies, to print the rest only on the commonest paper and at the cheapest rate, so that the work may be sold at a very low price. Every invalid of the army of Italy will receive it gratis, every wounded soldier shall purchase it at half-price, and to every officer it shall be sold at one-fourth less than its cost.

9th. To enter into an agreement with an English, a German, a Russian, an Italian, and a Spanish bookseller, so as to ensure to them the publication of a translation before the rest of the trade, without any other return on their part, than the obligation of taking 500 French copies, or pledging themselves, should they prefer it, to circulate the 500 finest copies of their edition, with the French text opposite the translation.

10th. Lastly, if the produce of the work will allow of it, to print as a complement and continuation, the lists of the army of Italy, which may no doubt be procured from the records of the War Department. If my son should entertain other ideas on the subject, or should have others suggested to him, he may blend them with these, or give them the preference, if they deserve

it. A sure method of obtaining hints, and avoiding mistakes on this subject, would be to form a small Committee of members of the army of Italy, who would all feel equal interest in the work.

To-day, during dinner, the Emperor again reviewed the character of his Generals. He passed an eulogium on several of them, the greater number of whom are now no more. He bestowed the highest praise on the talents of General Drouot. Every thing in life is a problem, said he; it is only by what is known that we can come at what is unknown. He observed, that he knew to a certainty that General Drouot possessed every quality necessary to make a great General. He had sufficient reasons for supposing him superior to many of his Marshals. He had no hesitation in believing him capable of commanding 100,000 men. "And perhaps," added he, "he "was far from thinking so himself, which, after "all, can only be regarded as an additional good "quality."

He again alluded to the prodigious valour of Murat and Ney, whose courage, he said, so often preceded their judgment, that they might have been capable of the greatest absurdities if it could have been supposed possible, in a case in which they had well considered the danger. Such is the mystery, said he, of certain actions in certain individuals: the inequality between temper and understanding explains all.

The conversation turned on the battle of Hohenlinden. The Emperor remarked, that it was one of those great triumphs that are brought about by chance, and obtained without plan. Moreau, he repeated, was destitute of invention; he was not sufficiently decided; and, therefore, he was most fit to be employed on the defensive. Hohenlinden was a confused sort of affair; the enemy had been unexpectedly attacked amidst his own operations, and was conquered by troops whom he had himself penetrated and nearly destroyed. The merit rested chiefly with the troops and generals of the partisan corps, who had been most exposed to danger, and who had fought like heroes.

When speaking of the campaigns of Italy, we observed to the Emperor, that the rapid succession of his daily victories, which filled the mouth of fame, must have been a source of great delight to him.—"By no means," replied he. "But at least they were supposed to have been "so by those who were at a distance from the "scene of conflict."—"That may be; those who "were at a distance knew only our success; "they knew nothing of our situation. If those "victories could have procured me pleasure, I "should have enjoyed repose. But I had al-"ways the aspect of danger before me, and the "victory of to-day was speedily forgotten through "the obligation of gaining another to-morrow."

I recollect having heard a distinguished General, (Lamarque), deliver a very characteristic opinion of Moreau. Lamarque had been much attached to Moreau, and had for a long time served under him. He was endeavouring to make me understand the different tactics of Moreau and Napoleon, he said:—"Had their two "armies been in presence, and there had been "sufficient time to move, I would have entered "the ranks of Moreau, which were sure to be "managed with the utmost regularity, precision, "and calculation. On these points, it was im- "possible to excel, or even to equal Moreau. But "if the two armies had approached within a hun- "dred leagues of each other, the Emperor would "have routed the enemy three, four, or five times "over, before the latter could have had time to "reconnoitre his forces."

Annoyance by the Rats.—Lord Castlereagh's impostures.—French heiresses.

Thursday, 27th.—We had nearly gone without our breakfast: an incursion made by the rats, who had entered our kitchen from several points during the night, had deprived us of every thing eatable. We are much infested with these animals; they are of enormous size, and very daring and mischievous; it took them very little time to penetrate our walls and floors. Attracted by the

smell of the victuals, they could make their way into our drawing-room whilst we were at dinner. We were several times obliged to give them battle after the dessert; and one evening, when the Emperor wished to retire, and his hat was handed to him, a rat of the largest size jumped out of it. Our grooms had tried to rear some poultry, but they were compelled to abandon the attempt, because the rats devoured all the fowls. They would even seize them in the night on their perches.

The Emperor was this day translating some review or journal, in which it was mentioned that Lord Castlereagh had asserted at a public meeting that Napoleon, even since his fall, had not hesitated to declare, that as long as he had reigned, he would have continued to make war against England, having never had any object but that of her destruction.

The Emperor could not help feeling provoked by these words. "Lord Castlereagh," said he, with indignation, "must be much accustomed to "lying, and must place great dependence on the "credulity of his auditors. Can their own good "sense allow them to believe that I could ever "make such a foolish speech, even if I had had "such intentions!"

It was afterwards stated that Lord Castlereagh had said, in Parliament, that the reason why the French army was so much attached to Bonaparte, was, that he made a kind of conscription

of all the heiresses of the empire, and then distributed them amongst his generals. "Here "again," observed the Emperor, "Lord Castle-"reagh tells a wilful falsehood. He came amongst "us; he had an opportunity of seeing our man-"ners and laws, and of knowing the truth; he "must be certain that such a thing was quite "impracticable, and out of my power. What "does he take our nation for? The French were "never capable of submitting to such tyranny. "I have, no doubt, made a great number of "matches; and I would gladly have made thou-"sands more; it was one of the most effectual "methods of amalgamating and uniting irrecon-"cileable factions. If I had had more time to "myself, I would have taken great pains to ex-"tend these unions to the provinces, and even to "the confederation of the Rhine, in order to "strengthen the connection of those distant por-"tions of the empire with France; but in such "proceedings I only exerted my influence, and "never my authority. Lord Castlereagh disre-"gards such distinctions; it is important to his "policy to render me odious; he is not scrupu-"lous about the means; he does not shrink "from any calumny; he has every advantage "over me. I am in chains; he has taken all "precautions for keeping my mouth shut, and "preventing the possibility of my making any "reply, and I am a thousand leagues from the

"scene of action; his position is commanding; "nothing stands in his way. But certainly this "conduct is the *ne plus ultra* of impudence, base- "ness, and cowardice."

I shall now introduce an instance which may serve to prove the truth of the foregoing assertion of Napoleon with respect to French heiresses. I had the account from the mouth of the person chiefly interested.

M. d'Aligre had a daughter who was heiress to immense property: the Emperor conceived the idea of marrying her to M. de Caulaincourt, Duke of Vicenza, for whom he had such a particular regard, that he was looked upon as a kind of favourite. His personal qualities, no less than his high official employment, rendered him one of the first personages in the empire. The Emperor, therefore, never imagined that there could be the slightest impediment to this union. He sent for M. d'Aligre, who often came to Court, and made his request; but M. d'Aligre had other views, and declined the alliance. Napoleon urged it in every possible way, but M. d'Aligre remained immoveable. From his manner of relating the affair to me, it was evident that he thought he had shewn great courage, and, in fact, he deserved the credit of having done so, for he imagined, like all of us, that it was very dangerous to thwart the Emperor's inclinations. We were, however, all deceived; we did not know Napo-

leon. I am now convinced that the justice due to individuals, and family rights in particular, are sacred to him, and I never heard that M. d'Aligre suffered any inconvenience whatever through his refusal.

After dinner the Emperor tried some of Pigault Le Brun's romances, and others of the same kind; but in vain: after turning over a few pages of each, he rejected them all, saying that they were all in very bad taste.

The Governor's statements respecting the expenses at Longwood, &c.

Friday, 28th.—Towards one o'clock the Emperor sent for me and my son. We carried him the first chapter of the Campaigns of Italy, with our last work completing it. He detained us until almost six o'clock.

The Governor had paid a visit to the Grand Marshal, and in a vague manner given him reason to expect some reductions at Longwood. He had stated, with some simplicity, that it had been expected at London, that the permission which had been offered us to return to Europe, would have greatly diminished the Emperor's domestic circle. He had also said, without being well understood by the Grand Marshal, that if we had any private property, we might avail ourselves of our own money, by drawing upon ourselves, as I

had already done, &c. His government, he said, had never intended to allow the Emperor more than a table for four persons daily at most, and company to dine once a-week. What a statement! Is it possible that he meant to insinuate that, with respect to us, we ought to pay for our maintenance, and contribute, for the future, to the expenses of the establishment? Let it not be thought incredible; we learn here, daily, to believe that there is nothing impossible.

The Emperor, afterwards, reverting to a book he had been reading, in which was a story of an Irish lady, respecting whom Goldsmith had abused him violently, recollected well, he said, that being at Bayonne, at the Chateau de Marrach, when the city of Bourdeaux gave him a *fête*, he saw by the side of the Empress Josephine, a charming countenance, of the most perfect beauty, with which he was forcibly struck. The impression she had made did not pass unperceived. She had been instructed and prepared before hand by some one nearly related to her; and "God "knows," said the Emperor, "with what inten-"tions." She was a Miss *****, afterwards Madame ***, a new reader to the Empress Josephine, whom she attended to the Chateau de Marrach, and might very possibly have had great success. She already occupied Napoleon's thoughts, when M. de Lavalette, who was at the head of the secret department of the post-office,

destroyed the charm. He sent, direct to the Emperor, a letter addressed to this young lady. It was from her mother or her aunt, an Irishwoman, and contained minute directions for the part she was to play, and particularly urged her by all means to contrive to secure such a living pledge as might prolong her empire, or at least secure her great influence. "On this perusal," said the Emperor, "all illusion vanished. The "coarseness of the intrigue, the turpitude of the "details, the style, the hand which had written the letter; but, above all, her being a foreigner, produced immediate disgust; and the "pretty little Irish girl was, in fact, as Goldsmith says, put into a post-chaise and suddenly "packed off to Paris. And here I find," continued Napoleon, "a libel imputing this to me as "a crime, when, in fact, it was much rather a "virtue in me; an act of continence, of which I "might, perhaps, boast with much more reason "than the famous Scipio. But this is the way "in which history is written."

After dinner, when we were debating what we should read, the Emperor said, that since we confessed we had not wit enough to relate each his tale or story, we ought at least to be condemned to choose, by turns, our evening's reading; and he began by naming for his part, the poem of *la Pitié*, by the Abbé Delille. He thought the verses good, the language pure, the ideas agree-

able; nevertheless, he observed, it was destitute of imagination or warmth. It was, undoubtedly, superior in versification to Voltaire; but still far beneath our other great masters.

Saturday, 29th.—The Emperor breakfasted in the garden, and invited us all. After breakfast he took an airing in the calash. He was in good spirits, and rallied us all in our turns. One he complimented on the beauty and elegance of his apartments, another on the sums which the Governor had paid for him, and which would soon be increased by a handsome stock of childbed linen; me he congratulated on the taste the Governor seemed to have for my bills of exchange, which had induced his Excellency to wish the rest to draw bills likewise. He laughed, and was highly amused with our remarks on each other. The weather suddenly changed, and obliged him to return home.

After dinner the Emperor read some passages of Milton, translated by the Abbé Delille. He thought the versification very inferior to the poem of *la Pitié*; and in fact it was a work prescribed to the author, written during his emigration, whilst at London, and published by subscription.

During the whole of our morning's ride, the conversation turned on our kings and their mistresses: Mesdames de Montespan, de Pompadour, Dubarry, &c. The principle was warmly discussed, opinions were at variance, and were

obstinately defended. The Emperor amused himself with fluctuating alternately from one opinion to another. He concluded, however, by deciding in favour of morality.

Political History of the Court of London during our emigration—George III.—Mr. Pitt—The Prince of Wales.—Anecdotes.—The Nassaus.—Remarkable digression of Napoleon to his own history.

Saturday, 30th.—The Emperor had me called early in the morning to breakfast with him; he was sad, gloomy, and unable to converse; he could not find words. Chance having produced the mention of London and of my emigration, the Emperor said, by way of fixing on a subject, and finding something to occupy his attention, "You "must have seen at London, the Court, the "King, the Prince of Wales, Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, "and other great personages who figured at that "time? Tell me what you know of them. What "did people think of them? Give me an histori-"cal sketch."—"Sire, your Majesty forgets, or "perhaps was never precisely informed of the "situation of an emigrant at London. I doubt "whether we should have been received at Court; "the good old George III. was deeply concerned "for our personal misfortunes, but he was ex-"tremely reluctant to avow us in a political "sense. And if we could have been received "there, our means would not have enabled us to

"appear. I did not, therefore, go to Court. I "have, however, seen most of those whom your "Majesty mentions, and I have also heard them "much spoken of.

"I have seen and heard the King several times "in the House of Lords, and been very near him; "the Prince of Wales in the same place, and "also in company in the metropolis. Besides, "it is not at London as in France; we do not "find there that immense distance between the "Court and the mass of the nation; the country "is so crowded, information so general, educa- "tion so equal, affluence so common, and the "sphere of activity so rapid, that the whole na- "tion seems to be in the same place and on the "same plane; whilst in looking at this assem- "blage, which might deserve to be called distin- "guished, one is tempted to ask, *Where is the "people?* which is, in fact, the question that "Alexander is said to have asked at the time of "his visit to London. It follows, then, that hav- "ing seen many people of all classes, conditions, "and opinions, I must have imbibed some notions "approaching, in all probability, very near the "truth. Unluckily I was then little solicitous "about observing and collecting information; "and I am likewise fearful that the lapse of so "much time may now confuse my memory.

"George the Third was the honestest man in "his dominions; his personal virtues made him

" an object of profound veneration; an extreme
" morality, and great respect for the laws, were
" the principal characteristics of his whole life.
" He came to the throne at twenty years of age,
" and was deeply enamoured of a charming young
" Scotch lady of one of the first peerages in the
" country; it was much feared that he would
" marry her; but it was sufficient to remind him
" that it was contrary to law, and he instantly
" consented to marry the person who should be
" chosen for him. This was a princess of Meck-
" lenburg. In his grief he thought her very or-
" dinary, and in fact she was so; nevertheless
" George III. remained all his life an exemplary
" husband; he was never known to be guilty of
" the least infidelity.

" The accession of George III. was an actual
" political revolution in England: the days of
" the Pretenders were over; the house of Hanover
" was established; the Whigs who had placed
" that family on the throne were dismissed from
" administration: they were troublesome observ-
" ers, who were no longer wanted. The govern-
" ment was again seized by the Tories, those
" friends of power, who have ever since kept it,
" to the great detriment of public liberty.

" The King, however, was personally free from
" prejudice in this respect; he sincerely loved
" the laws, justice, and the welfare and prospe-
" rity of his country. The violent part taken by

"England against our French revolution, was "much less the fault of George III. than of Mr. "Pitt, who was the real firebrand. The latter "was instigated by the extreme hatred to France "which he inherited from his father the great "Chatham, and also by a strong predilection for "power and the oligarchy. At the commence- "ment of our revolution, Mr. Pitt was the man of "the people: he governed England; he drew in "the King, who was always to be worked on by "facts; and it must be acknowledged, that the "excesses and crimes of our outset afforded very "favourable opportunities to the measures and "the eloquence of Mr. Pitt. It is probable, Sire, "that if the unfortunate George III. had retained "his reason, your Majesty would eventually have "found it greatly to your advantage, because "your reign would have presented new facts to "his observation, to which he would have yielded. "George III. had his own species and degree of "character: it was in harmony with his intellec- "tual conceptions; he wished to know things, to "be convinced. When once his mind was made "up, it was difficult to make him alter it; yet it "was not impossible; his good sense afforded "great opportunities.

"His illness was, on this account, a curse to "us, a curse to Europe, and to the English them- "selves, who begin now to give up the high opi-

" nion they once professed of Mr. Pitt, of whose " fatal errors they now feel the effects.

" It was the first attack of the King's illness " which established the reputation and credit of " Mr. Pitt. That minister was little more than " twenty-five years of age, when he ventured " alone to encounter the mass of those who de- " serted the King, and considered him lost; and " who were eager to proclaim the monarch's in- " capacity, in order to possess themselves of " power under his youthful successor. This con- " duct rendered Mr. Pitt the idol of the nation. " This was the most glorious period of his life; " and his noblest triumph was, undoubtedly, that " of conducting George III. to St. Paul's, to re- " turn thanks to God for his restoration to health, " amidst an immense concourse of people intoxi- " cated with joy and satisfaction.

" There was no doubt but that Mr. Pitt was on " this occasion the Saviour of the King, as well " as of the public peace; for experience proved " that George III. had not become incapable of " reigning again; and it was strongly suspected, " that had the regency been organized as the op- " position wished to have it, this capability would " not have been very readily acknowledged at a " subsequent period; and thus a civil war would " have been occasioned.

" I have often heard it said, that the mental

"derangement of George III. was not a com-
"mon kind of madness; that his alienation did
"not exactly arise from a local affection of the
"brain, but from the repletion of the vessels
"leading thereto; a derangement produced by a
"malady which had long been peculiar to this
"family. His disorder, it was said, was rather
"delirium than madness. When the cause was
"removed, the prince instantly recovered all his
"faculties, in as great perfection as if they had
"sustained no interruption; this circumstance
"explains his numerous relapses and restorations.
"As a proof thereof, people used to mention the
"strength of mind he must have possessed, to be
"able, immediately on his first convalescence, to
"support the pomp of the procession, attended
"by the assembled population of London, filling
"the air with acclamations.

"After his second relapse he gave another no
"less remarkable proof of this nature, by the
"calmness and *sang-froid* he evinced on being
"fired at by an assassin, as he entered his box at
"the theatre. He was so little disturbed, that
"he instantly turned to the Queen, who had just
"reached the door of the box, to tell her not to
"be alarmed, for that it was only a squib that
"had been let off in the theatre; he remained
"during the whole performance apparently un-
"moved. Here was certainly no proof of weak-
"ness. The permanence of the complaint in

"his latter years might indeed be opposed to "these facts, if it be certain that he had not long "lucid intervals.

"George III., although so worthy and well-"meaning a monarch, was several times very "near falling a victim to assassins. Several in-"stances of this kind occur in his history; and I "do not believe any of the persons implicated "suffered death, because they all appeared to be "insane—all religious or political fanatics. The "last and most famous attempt occurred, I think, "in 1800. The King went to the theatre, as he "did from time to time at that critical period, by "way of a kind of *fête*, to keep up his popularity. "As he entered his box, a man in the pit took "aim at him with a holster pistol, and the ball "only missed through the King's bowing at the "moment to salute the public. The dreadful tu-"mult that ensued may easily be conceived! The "man did not attempt to deny his crime; he was "precisely such another as the fanatic at Schoen-"brunn, who would have sacrificed your Ma-"jesty, and always maintained that he had no "other object in view than peace and the hap-"piness of his country. A jury pronounced this "man insane, and he was condemned to confine-"ment.

"During my excursion to London in 1814, a "singular chance procured me a sight of this very "assassin. My mind being still occupied with

"the mission which your Majesty had confided "to me the preceding year, concerning the "depôts of mendicity and houses of correction, "I wished to see the English establishments of "this description. Whilst I was taking a minute "survey of Newgate, I entered an apartment in "which I found a great number of condemned "persons enjoying a certain degree of liberty. "The first on whom my conductor fixed his eyes "happened to be Hatfield, whom he pointed out "to me, and whose name I immediately recol-"lected, and asked if he was the man who had "attempted to assassinate George III. It was "the same, he said, and that he was undergoing "the confinement to which he had been con-"demned for his madness, in Newgate. I ob-"served that, at the time, this madness had been "much doubted and contested by the public, as "it always happens in such cases. I was as-"sured, however, that Hatfield was indisputably "mad, but only by fits; that his madness was, "however, so mild, that he was suffered to go "into town, on his word; and that he was the "first to request he might be attended to, when "he felt that his disorder was coming on. My "conductor then called him. Having ventured "to ask him some questions, he immediately dis-"covered me to be French by my accent, and "told me he had often fought against my coun-"trymen in Flanders. (He had served in the

"light-horse, or dragoons, under the Duke of "York.) He bore their marks, he said, shewing "me several scars; and yet, he added, he was "far from hating them, for they were brave, and "were not to blame in that affair; people had in- "sisted on meddling in their disputes, which con- "cerned themselves only. He began to grow "very warm, which induced my conductor to "make me a sign, and to send him away. We "had touched the chord of his derangement, my "conductor observed, and had we continued, "he would have become outrageous.

"But I return to George III. The predomi- "nant sentiment of that prince was the love of "the public good, and the welfare of his coun- "try. To these he always sacrificed every con- "sideration: this alone induced him to retain "Mr. Pitt so long, towards whom he felt a "strong repugnance, because he was very ill- "treated by that minister.

"The crisis was of the most vital importance to "England; the danger most imminent; the ta- "lents of the Prime Minister of a superior kind. "He was, therefore, necessary. Presuming on "the omnipotence of this circumstance over the "King's mind, Mr. Pitt ruled him tyrannically, "and without the least delicacy; he scarcely "allowed him the disposal of the most trifling "place. If there was a vacancy, and the King "wished to reward a private servant of his own,

" he was always too late; Mr. Pitt had already
" disposed of it, and for the good of the state,
" he would say—for the sake of parliamentary
" services. If the King shewed too much dissa-
" tisfaction, Mr. Pitt had one invariable answer
" constantly ready—he would resign and yield
" his place to another. At length a circumstance
" occurred of the most delicate kind, as it con-
" cerned the King's conscience, who was very
" religious; that is to say, the question of the
" emancipation of the Catholics of Ireland, to
" which he obstinately refused to consent. Mr.
" Pitt insisted with equal perseverance; he was
" pledged to this measure, he said, and resorted
" to his usual threat. But the King this time
" took him at his word, and, overjoyed at his
" deliverance, repeated the same day to several
" persons, that he had now got rid of a man who
" had for twenty years been kicking at him. And
" it may not, perhaps, be useless to observe here,
" as a remarkable singularity, in contrast to
" Mr. Pitt's ill usage of the King, that George III.
" has been heard to say, that of all his ministers,
" Mr. Fox, (so much accused of republicanism,
" and perhaps not without foundation) was the
" person who, when at the head of affairs, had
" constantly shewn him the greatest delicacy,
" deference, respect, and attention.

" Nevertheless, such was the influence of the
" public interest over the King's mind, that not-

"withstanding all his aversion, he re-instated "Mr. Pitt a year after. It was thought at the "time, that when Mr. Pitt retired he had had the "address to fix Mr. Addington, a creature of his "own, in the ministry, in order to be able to "replace himself there in a short time without "difficulty; but it has since been proved that "Mr. Pitt himself was obliged to have recourse "to intrigues to overthrow his successor and ob-"tain his second administration, which, however, "was by no means worthy of him: it was filled "up with disasters which he himself had oc-"casioned. The ball that decided the victory of "Austerlitz killed him in London.

"Time daily undermines the great reputation "of Mr. Pitt, not with respect to his eminent "talents, but their fatal employment. England "groans under the calamities with which he "overwhelmed her, the most fatal of which are "the school and the doctrines he bequeathed to "her. He introduced the police into England, "accustomed the nation to an armed force, and "commenced that system of informations, snares, "and demoralization of every kind so completely "perfected by his successors.

"His great system of tactics was constantly to "excite our excesses on the Continent, and then "to hold them up as a scarecrow to England, "which immediately granted him all he wanted."

"But what did you all say to that?" asked the

Emperor: "What was the opinion of the emi-
"grants?"—"Sire," I replied, "we all constantly
"saw through the same glass; what we said the
"first day of our emigration, we still repeated on
"the last day of our exile. We had not advanced
"one step; we had become and remained a peo-
"ple by ourselves. Mr. Pitt was our oracle;
"whatever was said by him, by Burke, Wind-
"ham, or any of the most violent on that side of
"the question, appeared to us to be delicious;
"all that their adversaries objected, abominable.
"Fox, Sheridan, and Grey, were in our eyes
"nothing but infamous jacobins; we never called
"them by any other name."—"Very well," said
the Emperor; "now return to George III."

"This virtuous prince was excessively partial
"to private life and rural occupations; he de-
"voted all the time he could spare from the bu-
"siness of the state to the cultivation of a farm a
"few miles from London; he never returned to
"the capital except for his regular levées, or ex-
"traordinary councils required by circumstances;
"and he immediately returned to his fields,
"where he lived without pomp, and like an
"honest farmer, as he said himself. All intrigues
"were left in town, about the ministers, and
"amongst them.

"George III. had many domestic troubles. His
"sister was Matilda Queen of Denmark, whose
"story forms so melancholy a romance; his two

" brothers caused him many vexations by their " marriages; and he had not reason to be per- " fectly satisfied with his eldest son.

" The two brothers of George III. were the " Duke of Cumberland and the Duke of Glouces- " ter. I often saw the latter in private society; " he was the worthiest, most polite, and honour- " able gentleman in England. Both these illus- " trious individuals, according to the spirit of the " British constitution, were entirely strangers to " public business. The King heard that one of " them had married, or was about to marry a " private individual. This was a great crime in " his estimation; he had himself made a great " sacrifice to avoid committing it. He was ex- " tremely angry; and whilst he was sending a " message to Parliament against the brother who " had thus given offence, he was informed that " the other had eloped to Calais for a similar " purpose. It was like a fatality, an absolute " epidemic, for it was at the same time reported " on all sides, that the heir apparent himself was " also secretly married."—" What," said the Emperor, " the Prince of Wales!"—" Yes, Sire, " himself: his marriage was every where talked " of, but with circumstances not sufficiently cer- " tain for me to venture to repeat them; the fact, " however, seemed generally acknowledged. But " as the Prince afterwards caused it to be con- " tradicted in Parliament, through the medium of

" the opposition, we are bound after that to be-
" lieve him.

" I have it, however, from the mouth of a very
" near relation of his pretended wife, that the
" matter was positively so. I heard this person
" give way to the most violent rage on the solemn
" marriage of the prince, and threaten to resort
" to personal violence. It might, therefore, be
" considered a contested point, which was un-
" avoidably represented according to party spirit;
" some obstinately maintaining the reality of the
" marriage, whilst others denied it in the most
" violent manner. Perhaps this contradiction
" might be reconciled by the consideration that
" the person he was said to have married, Mrs.
" Fitzherbert, was a Catholic. This circum-
" stance rendered the marriage impossible in the
" eyes of the law, and perfectly void with respect
" to the heir to the throne. However this may
" be, I have often met Mrs. Fitzherbert in com-
" pany: her carriage bore the Prince's arms, and
" her servants wore his livery. This lady was
" much older than himself; but beautiful, agree-
" able, of a powerful mind, and haughty, impatient
" temper, which often involved her in disputes
" with the Prince, and gave rise, it was said, to
" scenes of violence not very becoming such ele-
" vated rank. It was during one of the last
" quarrels of this kind, when, they say, Mrs.
" Fitzherbert had obstinately kept the door shut

"against the Prince, that Mr. Pitt dexterously "took the opportunity of persuading him to con- "sent to a marriage with the Princess of Bruns- "wick."—"But stay," said the Emperor, "you "go too fast; you pass over what chiefly interests "me. Under what auspices did the Prince of "Wales enter into life? What was there peculiar "in his political conduct, his situation with "regard to the opposition, and so forth?"— "This Prince, Sire, came before the public with "all the advantages of countenance, person, and "mind. He was greeted with universal enthu- "siasm; but he soon evinced those inclinations, "and began to act that part which seemed neces- "sarily imposed on great lords in the middle of "the last century. The madness of gaming, and "its consequent embarrassments; table and other "excesses; and, above all, a set of companions "disapproved of by the public. Then it was "that all generous hearts were grieved; hope "was blighted, and the middling class, which "in every country really constitutes the nation, "and which it must be confessed, is in England "the most moral population of all Europe, de- "spaired of the future. It was a received adage "in England, amongst the lower classes in parti- "cular, that the Prince of Wales would never "reign; the fortune-tellers and witches, it was "said, must have foretold it to himself.

"The opposition, into whose arms he had

"thrown himself, as heirs presumptive too fre-
"frequently do; the opposition, whose stay and
"hope he was, perhaps trying to deceive them-
"selves, when this misconduct was mentioned
"to them, used to get through it by saying, that
"he would be another Henry V.; that Henry V.
"had been extremely dissipated when Prince of
"Wales; but that he became the greatest King
"the monarchy had produced; and thence they
"concluded that the Prince of Wales would make
"one of their greatest kings."—"But did he adopt
"the revolutionary party and defend our modern
"ideas?" said the Emperor. "No, Sire; as the
"fever of revolutionary principles increased, de-
"cency compelled him to withdraw by degrees
"from the opposition which defended them. He
"relinquished all ostensible alliance, and filled up
"the void of his life by giving himself up to plea-
"sure and its attendant difficulties. He was con-
"stantly overwhelmed with debts, although par-
"liament had already paid them several times.
"By these encumbrances he was greatly em-
"barrassed, and his character and popularity were
"endangered. It was whilst thus involved, and
"during a quarrel with Mrs. Fitzherbert, that
"Mr. Pitt got hold of him, offering to pay his
"debts again, if he would adopt his father's
"views, and consent to marry. He was obliged
"to submit to all that was prescribed, and the
"hand of the Princess of Brunswick was asked

" and obtained. But during the short interval of " the negociation, a celebrated woman who had " long aspired to govern the prince, finding the " place vacant, occupied it herself. It is pre- " tended that she has said she had sought this " connection for twenty years; for she was much " older than himself, a circumstance which seemed " like a peculiar taste in this family, having also " been remarked in several of his brothers. This " person was immediately appointed Lady of the " Bed-chamber to the future Princess of Wales; " she even went to meet her and bring her to " England. It was under such auspices, such " malignant influence, that the bride landed on " the British shore. Accordingly, it is positively " asserted that this unhappy princess had not " even the whole twenty-four hours of enjoyment, " still less that privileged period emphatically " called by the English the Honey Moon. From " the very day after her marriage, ridicule, neglect, " and contempt were her portion."

" All who possessed the least spark of gene- " rosity or morality in England took her part, " and loudly exclaimed against the manner in " which she was treated. The greater share of " the odium, however, fell on Lady J—— who " was accused of having bewitched the prince. " She became the object of public execration; " yet the Prince, it was declared could not plead " the excuse of illusion or blindness; for it is said,

"that after a very gay entertainment amongst "his jovial companions, one of them was led, in "the course of conversation, to say that he knew "the *Madame de Merteuil* of the *Leaisons Dan-* "*gereuses*. Many of the others immediately cried "out that they also knew one: upon this, it is "said, the Prince proposed, for a frolic, that "each should write his secret separately. All the "notes were thrown into a vase; and the name "of Lady J—— was found written on every one "of them; the Prince himself, not having looked "for such unanimity, or expected to be disco- "vered, had written this name as well as the rest.

"I knew this Lady J —— and it must be con- "fessed that her face and whole appearance were "so little indicative of her age, that it could not "easily have been suspected. She had all the "charms of early youth, heightened with all the "grace of the most elegant manners; and I am "bound to say, that in the circles in which I saw "her, she even possessed a sort of attractive kind- "ness; whether the manners of her class render "the disposition indulgent, or whether she did "not in fact deserve all the reproaches with "which she was loaded.

"The Prince of Wales seems to have possessed "a peculiar faculty, a gift which the English call "the power of fascination. He is endowed with "it in the highest degree; one would think that "his will was sufficient to reclaim the attachment

"of the multitude, and as it were to corrupt "public opinion. His history is full of those "losses and returns of popularity; and, perhaps, "it is the certainty of being able to command "this sort of success that has so often led him, as "his detractors say, to disregard public opinion. "His enemies have said that he has carried this "species of courage to absolute heroism. They "have censured him for his hardihood, in per- "sisting, whilst lying himself under the reproach "of an irregular life, in accusing his wife of that "conduct of which he set the example; an in- "consistency which ought, undoubtedly, to be "attributed to the fatal suggestions of pernicious "counsellors, inimical to his glory and tranquil- "lity. It is at least certain, that the basest cor- "ruption, the aid of the laws, and the influence "of the heir to the throne, were all employed "against the Princess, and all in vain: a circum- "stance which, it is said, used to torment the "Prince and expose him to ridicule. People "laughed at his unprecedented ill-luck, in being "unable to prove, with all his endeavours, what "so many husbands would give so much to con- "ceal. Hatred increased on every new defeat, "and with it the sufferings of the victim. She "was reduced, at last, to a sort of banishment, "to a place a few miles from London; she was "deprived of her daughter; she was insulted in "the sight of the allied Sovereigns when they

"visited London. But the expression of the "feelings of the multitude was always ready to "avenge her, and it became necessary to get her "to quit England; which she was induced to do "voluntarily, by the aid, perhaps, of the perfidi-"ous insinuations of some pretended friend."

Here the Emperor again interrupted me, saying that I was leaving out a very essential point. "When and how had the Prince attained the "Royal authority? How had he arranged mat-"ters with the opposition? What had he done "with those old friends?" "Sire," I replied, "my information ends here. There was a time "when political events induced your Majesty to "cut off all intercourse between England and "France. We no longer obtained the papers; "we were prevented from receiving letters; the "two nations had no longer any thing in common. "There is, therefore, an actual blank in my in-"telligence, which I should be unwilling to fill "up with mere conjectures. I understand, how-"ever, that after several recoveries and relapses "of the old King, all parties at length agreed to "consign the regency to the Prince of Wales, and "place him in full possession of the sovereign "authority. The long expected period of changes "and of hopes was at length arrived. The gates "of heaven were now to open, at length, to that "opposition which had so long eulogized the "Prince; to those old friends who had seemed

"from infancy to unite their fate with his. But "to the great and universal surprise of the nation, "and through I know not what contrivance of "Lord Castlereagh, nothing was altered. Those "old ministers, who had so long been the objects "of the Prince's dislike and censure, kept their "places, and those intimate and dearly beloved "friends, who had so long been caressed, re-"mained out of office.

"The opposition complained loudly; but they "were laughed at, and told that when the wild "Prince of Wales became a great King, his first "care was to get rid of his old companions. The "jest might be a very good one; but by no means "applicable; for the greatest characters in the em-"pire were at the head of this opposition; and "they were far from being Falstaffs or profligates "of that kind. From that instant they evinced "a marked coolness towards the Prince: some "would no longer see him; others refused his "invitations, or repelled the advances he made "them. It is said, however, that one of them "suffered himself to be persuaded to go to dine "in private with the Prince. The latter recur-"ing to his usual victorious weapons, endeavoured "to prove to him, with his accustomed grace, "that he could not have acted differently; and at "length desired to be told of what his old friends "could justly accuse him. The guest, whose "heart was still swelling with indignation, seized

"the opportunity, and freely told him all his "faults, with such warmth, that the Princess "Charlotte, who was at table, and was perhaps "secretly inclined towards the guest's opinion, "burst into tears. Lord Byron heard of this "scene the next day, and consecrated the event "in these celebrated verses:—

"Weep, daughter of a royal line,
"A Sire's disgrace, a realm's decay;
"Ah happy! if each tear of thine
"Could wash a father's fault away!
"Weep, for thy tears are virtue's tears,
"Auspicious to these suff'ring isles;
"And be each drop, in future years,
"Repaid thee by thy people's smiles."

"In 1814, at the time of my visit to London, "I had the honour of being presented to the "Prince of Wales at Carlton House."—"And "what the devil did you want there?" said the Emperor. "I do not wonder that your Majesty "is surprised; but I was induced by a sort of "point of honour: I thought I could do no other. "There were many French at London at that "time; I was the only one who had been near "your Majesty's person, worn your colours, and "followed the line of conduct which seemed to "be censured at that period. Some one having "told me that the others would certainly not en-"dure my presence, that circumstance determined "me to go. We were, in fact, twenty-two "Frenchmen, presented at the same time, at one

"of the Prince's grand levees; and I must say that "I never saw more graceful manners, more pleasing "expression, more harmony in the *tout-ensemble*; I thought him the *beau-ideal* of elegance. "I comprehended the full power, the whole truth "of that magic fascination which I had so often "heard attributed to him; and even at this mo"ment, Sire, when I recollect that fine counte"nance, on which I thought I perceived elevation "of mind, and the love and desire of glory, I "cannot help asking myself how your Majesty "comes to be here, how those atrocious ministers "could induce him to declare himself the gaoler, "the . . . . . ?" "My dear Sir," said the Emperor, "perhaps you were no physionomist; you "took the halo of coquetry for that of greatness; "the study to please for the love of glory; and, "besides, the love of glory is not exactly in the "face; it is in the recesses of the heart, and "you did not search there. *

"But were you not translating to me, the other "day," said the Emperor, "some journal or "work, in which it was stated that the Prince

* Since this was said, the great victim has fallen. I, his servant, saw his torments begin; others have communicated to me his last sufferings and protracted agonies. He expired! His enemies never ceased to strike him, in the name of the Prince! This immortal victim accordingly left with his own hand, these dreadful words: "I *bequeath the infamy of my death to the "reigning family of England!*"

"Regent had made a great display of sympathy "towards the last Stuarts; that he had paid the "most extravagant prices for things that had be-"longed to, and been left by them; that he had "talked of raising a monument to the last of "them? There is much more calculation than "magnanimity in all that; it is because he is "anxious to establish and consecrate their ex-"tinction. From that event his legitimacy and "security date; and he is in the right. If in my "time, and under the circumstances into which "the English ministers had plunged the nation, "there had been some young Stuart, of a brave "and enterprising character, equal to the present "age, he would have been landed in Ireland, es-"corted by the modern doctrines; and then we "should undoubtedly have seen the regenerate "Stuarts driving out the . . . . . Brunswicks. "England would have had its 20th of March. "Such are thrones and their contagious influence; "scarcely is one seated there when the poison "begins to operate. These Brunswicks, brought "in by liberal ideas, raised by the will of the "people, have scarcely ascended the throne, when "they grasp at arbitrary and despotic power; "they must absolutely drive their wheels in the "track which overturned their predecessors; and "this because they are become Kings! And it "should seem that this is the inevitable course! "That fine stem of the Nassaus, for instance,

" those patrons of noble independence in Europe,
" whose liberalism ought to be in the blood, and
" even in the marrow of their bones; those
" Nassaus, who, as far as regards their dominions,
" would be only at the tail, and who might by
" their doctrines, place themselves at the head,—
" they have just been placed on a throne; well,
" you will infallibily see them concern themselves
" about nothing but becoming what they call legi-
" timates; and adopt the principles, the proceed-
" ings, and the errors of that class. Nay, after
" all, my dear Sir, has not the same thing been
" said of me, myself? and perhaps not without
" some appearance of reason; for, probably many
" circumstances may have escaped my observa-
" tion. Nevertheless I declared, on a solemn oc-
" casion, that in my estimation the sovereign
" power was not in the title, nor the throne in
" its splendour. It has been said of me, that
" scarcely had I attained power, when I exercised
" a despotic and arbitrary sway; but it was rather
" a Dictatorship; and the circumstances of the
" times will be a sufficient excuse for me. I have
" also been reproached with having suffered my-
" self to be intoxicated with pride at my alliance
" with the house of Austria, and having thought
" myself more truly a sovereign after my marriage;
" in fact, of having considered myself from that
" time as Alexander, become the son of a god!
" But can all this be just? Did I really fall into

"such errors? A young, handsome, agreeable "woman, fell to my lot; was it inadmissible for "me to testify some satisfaction? Could I not "devote a few moments to her without incurring "blame? Was I not to be allowed to abandon "myself to a few hours of happiness? Was I "required to use my wife ill from the very first "night, like your Prince . . . . .? Or was I, "like the Sultan we have read of, to have her head "struck off, in order to escape the reproaches of "the multitude? No! my only fault in that al-"liance was that of carrying too plebeian a heart "with me. How often have I said that the heart "of a statesman ought only to be in his head. "Mine, unfortunately, in this instance, remained "in its place, subject to family feelings, and this "marriage ruined me; because I believed, above "all things, in the religion, the piety, the mora-"lity and honour of Francis I. He has cruelly "deceived me. I am willing to believe he was "himself deceived; and I forgive him with all "my heart. But will history spare him? If, "however, ..."

Here Napoleon was silent for a few moments, resting his head on one of his hands; then resuming, "But what a romance is my life!" said he, rising. "Open the door, and let us walk." And we walked up and down the adjoining rooms for some time.

My Son's fall from his Horse.—Pillage in War.—Character of the French Soldier.—Particulars relating to Waterloo, by the New Admiral.

Monday July 1st to Thursday 4th.—Yesterday my son's horse ran away with him, whilst he was taking a ride; and being fearful the horse might dash him against the trees, he thought it best to throw himself off his back. He had sprained his foot sufficiently to condemn him to the sofa for a month.

The Emperor condescended to come into my room, about 11 o'clock, to learn the state of my son, whom he rated well for his awkwardness. I followed him into the garden, where he breakfasted, which he had not done there for some time previously.

The conversation turned on pillage by armies, and the horrors occasioned by it.

Pavia, the Emperor said, was the only place he had ever given up to pillage; he had promised it to his soldiers for 24 hours; "but after three "hours," said he, "I could bear it no longer, and I "put an end to it. I had but 1,200 men," said he, "the cries of the populace which reached "my ears, prevailed. If there had been 20,000 "soldiers, their numbers would have drowned "the complaints of the people, and I should have "heard nothing of it. Happily, however, policy "and morality are equally opposed to the system

"of pillage. I have meditated much on this sub-
"ject: and have often been urged to gratify my
"soldiers in this manner. But nothing is so
"certain to disorganize and completely ruin an
"army. A soldier loses all discipline as soon as
"he gets an opportunity to pillage; and if by
"pillage he enriches himself, he immediately
"becomes a bad soldier, and will not fight. Be-
"sides," continued he, "pillage is incompatible
"with our French manners; the hearts of our
"soldiers are not bad; when the first transport
"of fury is over, they come to themselves again.
"It would be impossible for French soldiers to
"pillage for twenty-four hours, many of them
"would employ the latter part of the time in
"repairing the mischief they had done in the
"beginning. They afterwards reproach each
"other, in their quarters, with the excesses they
"have committed, and load with reprobation and
"contempt those whose conduct has been parti-
"cularly odious."

About three o'clock the new Admiral, Sir Pulteney Malcolm, and all his officers, were presented to the Emperor. The Admiral first conversed with the Emperor alone, for nearly two hours. He must have been much impressed with this conversation, for he said, as he came out, that he had been taking a very fine and valuable lesson on the history of France.

The Emperor was understood to have said to

him, towards the close of the interview, what I believe I have already introduced elsewhere on this subject. "You have levied a contribution of "700 millions from France; I have imposed one "of more than 10,000 millions on your country. "You raised yours by your bayonets: I caused "mine to be raised by your parliament." "And "that is the true summary of the matter," replied the Admiral.

The Admiral was bringing from America some old troops consisting of 12,000 men, without the least suspicion of the new state of Europe. At sea a vessel informed him of the return of the Emperor from the isle of Elba, and the consequent revolution; it seemed to him so magical that he could scarce believe it. But when he arrived in sight of Plymouth, he received orders to proceed, with all possible expedition, to Ostend; he reached it in time, and 4,000 of the men on board his ships were enabled to take part in the battle, and they were unquestionably amongst the best troops in the whole line, as the Admiral declared. Who can determine what degree of influence they may have had? The English thought the battle lost, during the whole day, and they acknowledge that it would have been so, but for Grouchy's error.

Anecdotes on the 18th, Brumaire.—Sieyes.—Grand Elector.—Cambaceres.—Lebrun, &c.

After walking some time in the garden, the Emperor got into his calash. The weather was delightful; we made two turns at full gallop. I was alone with him. He spoke much of my son, and his future prospects, with a degree of interest and kindness which went to my heart. He said that considering his age, the circumstance of being sent to St. Helena was of inestimable value to his future life; that it must be like a hot-house for bringing forward his character.

After dinner, the Emperor resumed the subject of the 18th Brumaire, and related it to us with an infinite number of minor details. As he has long since dictated it to General Gourgaud, I shall refer to his publication for the mass of the particulars of this event. I shall only give here some little anecdotes or accessories which possibly may not be found there.

Napoleon's situation, on his return from Egypt, was unprecedented. He had found himself immediately applied to by all parties, and had been entrusted with all their secrets. There were three which were particularly distinct; the *Manege*, of which General J. was one of the leaders; the *Moderates*, directed by Sieyes; and the *Rotten* party, with Barras at their head.

The determination which Napoleon formed to

ally himself with the Moderates, exposed him, he said, to great danger. With the Jacobins he would have risked nothing; they offered to name him Dictator. "But after conquering with them," observed the Emperor, "it would have been ne-"cessary, almost immediately, to conquer against "them. A club cannot endure a permanent chief; "it wants one for every successive passion. Now "to make use of a party one day, in order to "attack it the next, under whatever pretext: "it is done, is still a piece of treachery; it was "inconsistent with my principles."

"My dear Sir," said the Emperor to me, at another moment, after having again run over the events of the 18th of Brumaire, "that is a far "different thing, you will allow, from the con-"spiracy of St. Real, in which there is much "more plotting, and much less result; ours "was struck at a single blow. It is certain that "there never was a great revolution which "caused less inconvenience; it was so generally "desired; it was accordingly crowned with uni-"versal applause.

"For my own part, all my share in the plot for "effecting this change, was confined to the as-"sembling the whole crowd of my visitors at the "same hour in the morning, and marching at their "head to seize on power. It was from the "threshold of my door, from the top of my own "steps, and without my friends having any pre-

"vious knowledge of my intentions, that I led "them to this conquest; it was amidst the bril- "liant escort they formed, their lively joy, and "unanimous ardour, that I presented myself "to the bar of the ancients, to thank them for "the Dictatorship with which they invested me.

"Metaphysicians have disputed, and will long "dispute, whether we did not violate the laws, "and whether we were not criminal; but these "are mere abstractions, at best fit for books and "tribunes, and which ought to disappear before "imperious necessity; one might as well blame "a sailor for waste and destruction, when he cuts "away his masts to avoid being overset. The "fact is, that had it not been for us the country "must have been lost; and we saved it. The "authors and chief agents of that memorable "state transaction may and ought, instead of de- "nials or justifications, to answer their accusers "proudly, like the Roman, *We protest that we have "saved our country; come with us and return thanks "to the gods.*"

On the completion of the Revolution of the 18th Brumaire, three provisional consuls were appointed; Napoleon, Sieyes, and Ducos. A president was to be chosen, the moment was critical, and rendered the General highly necessary; he accordingly seized the arm chair, and his two acolytes did not venture to dispute it with him. Besides, Ducos declared himself that

moment, once for all. The General alone could save them, he said: and thenceforth he was of his opinion in every thing. Sieyes was greatly mortified, but he was obliged to do the same.

Sieyes was a man of a very interested character: on the first meeting of the three Consuls in Council, and as soon as they were alone, Sieyes went in a mysterious manner to the doors of the apartment, to see whether any person was within hearing; then returning to Napoleon, he said to him with complacency, and in an undertone, shewing him, at the same time, a sort of cabinet, "Do you see that pretty piece of furniture? You "do not, perhaps, suspect how valuable it is?" Napoleon thought he was directing his attention to some appendage of the crown, which had, perhaps, been used by Louis XVI. "That is not the matter;" said Sieyes, seeing his mistake, "I am "going to let you into the secret; it contains 800,000 francs!" and his eyes opened wide. "In our Directorial magistracy, we reflected that a Director going out of office, might very possibly go back to his family without a denier; a very unbecoming thing; we therefore invented this little chest, from which we drew a sum for every Director going out of office. There are now no more Directors; we are therefore the possessors of the remainder. What shall we do with it?" Napoleon, who had paid great attention, and began, at length, to understand, said: "If it

"comes to my knowledge, the sum shall go to "the public treasury; but if I should not hear "of it, (and I know nothing of it yet) you and "Ducos, being two old Directors, can divide it "between you: only make haste, for to-morrow "it might perhaps, be too late. The colleagues "did not wait to be told twice," observed the Emperor, "Sieyes hastily undertook the opera- "tion, and divided the spoil like the lion in the "fable. He made several lots; he took one as "the eldest Director; another, because he was "to have continued in office longer than his col- "league; a third, because he had suggested the "idea of this happy change, &c. In short he ad- "judged 600,000 francs to himself, and only sent "200,000 to poor Ducos, who when his first "emotions had subsided, insisted on revising this "calculation, and seemed bent on quarrelling "with Sieyes. Both of them reverted to the "subject every moment, wishing their third col- "league to arbitrate between them; but the "latter always replied,—settle it between your- "selves. Above all, be quiet; for if the matter "should come to my ears, you would have to "give up the whole.

"When we were about to fix on a constitution," said the Emperor, "Sieyes treated us with ano- "ther very entertaining scene. Circumstances "and public opinion had made him a sort of "oracle in these matters; he accordingly un-

"folded his various propositions in the committees of the two councils, with great mystery, importance and method; they were all adopted, good, imperfect, or bad. Finally, he crowned the work by displaying the summit, which had been expected with lively and anxious impatience; he proposed a Grand Elector, who was to reside at Versailles, to enjoy six millions per annum, to represent the national dignity, and to have no other functions than the nomination of two Consuls, one for peace and the other for war; entirely independent in their functions. Moreover, if this Elector should make a bad choice, the Senate was to *absorb* him himself. This was the technical expression, meaning, to remove him, by replacing him as a punishment, in the crowd of private citizens."

Napoleon for want of experience in assemblies, and also through a degree of circumspection which the circumstances of the moment required, had taken little or no share in what had preceded; but now, at this decisive point, he began, he said, to laugh in Sieyes's face, and to cut up all his metaphysical nonsense without mercy. Sieyes did not like to defend himself, said the Emperor, nor did he know how to do it. He made the attempt, however, saying, that after all, a king was nothing more. Napoleon replied, "But you take the abuse for the principle, the shadow for

"the body. And how can you imagine, M. Sieyes, "that a man of any talent, or the least honour, "will resign himself to act the part of a pig fat-"tening on a few millions?" After this sally, which, said the Emperor, made those who were present laugh immoderately, Sieyes remained overwhelmed; it was no longer in his power to resume the subject of his Grand-Elector; and a First Consul was determined on, who was to have the supreme decision and the nomination of all offices; with two accessory Consuls, who were to have deliberative voices only. It was in fact, from that moment, an unity of power. The First Consul was precisely the President of America, veiled under the forms which the irritable spirit of the times still rendered necessary. The Emperor accordingly said, that his reign began in reality from that day.

The Emperor in some measure regretted that Sieyes had not been nominated one of the consuls. Sieyes, who at first refused the appointment, afterwards regretted it himself, but not until it was too late. "He had fallen into a mistake respect-"ing the nature of these consuls," said Napoleon; "he was fearful of mortification, and of having the "first consul to contend with at every step; which "would have been the case, if all the consuls had "been equal; we should then have all been ene-"mies; but the constitution having made them

"subordinate, there was no room for the struggles "of obstinacy, no cause of enmity, but a thousand "reasons for a genuine unanimity. Sieyes dis- "covered this, but too late." The Emperor said, he might have been very useful in council—better perhaps, than the others, because he had occasionally novel and most luminous ideas; but that, in other respects, he was wholly unfit to govern. "After all," said the Emperor, "in order to govern "it is necessary to be a military man; one can "only rule in boots and spurs. Sieyes, without "being fearful, was always in fear; his police "spies disturbed his rest." At the Luxembourg during the provisional consulate, he often awakened his colleague Napoleon, and harrassed him about the new plots which he heard of every moment from his private police. "But have they cor- "rupted our guard?" Napoleon used to say. "No." "Then go to bed.—In war, as in love, my dear "Sir, we must come to close quarters to con- "clude matters. It will be time enough to be "alarmed when our 600 men are attacked."

The Emperor said, that, for the permanent government, he had chosen, in Cambaceres and Lebrun, two distinguished characters; both prudent, moderate, and able, but of completely opposite principles. The one the advocate of abuses, prejudices, old institutions, the revival of honours and distinctions, &c. The other cold, austere, in-

sensible, contending against all these ideas, yielding to them without illusion, and naturally falling into ideology.

In resuming, he observed that Sieyes might perhaps have contributed to give a different colour, another characteristic to the imperial administration; but it was observed to him that this variation could not have been otherwise than injurious, for Napoleon's choice had been much approved of at the time. The men he had selected, it was said, were not liable to be objected to by Europe. They had greatly contributed to conciliate public opinion in France, which ran wholly against Sieyes. His name and the recollections attending it would, in the eyes of many people, have disgraced the acts in which he might have taken part; and there was an anecdote eagerly repeated at the time, which shews all the ill-will that was borne towards him. It was said, that whilst he was talking with the Emperor, at the Tuileries, about Louis XIV. he had suffered the word *tyrant* to escape him. "M. Abbé," the Emperor was said to have replied, "if Louis XVI. had been a tyrant, "you would now be saying mass, and I should "not be here." The Emperor smiled at this anecdote, without confirming or denying it. It will hereafter appear that it was false.

Fresh aggravations from the Governor.—His absurdities.

Saturday 6th to Monday 8th.—I have not mentioned the Governor for some time. We endeavoured to keep him as much as possible out of our thoughts; we now scarcely ever adverted to him. His ill-manners, and the vexations we endure from him oblige me to notice him to-day; they seem to have increased. He has just withheld from us some letters from Europe, although they came open, and in the most ostensible manner,—merely because they had not passed through the hands of the Secretary of State; without considering that a want of formality can easily be rectified in England; but that it is irremediable at a distance of two thousand leagues. If, however, in thus rigorously and literally fulfilling his instructions, he had only had the humanity to let us know that he has received these letters, and from whom they come, he might set our minds at ease with regard to those respecting whose health, or attention to ourselves, we suffer so much anxiety; but he has the barbarity to make a mystery of the affair. It is not many days since the Countess Bertrand having written to town, he had the note seized, and sent it back to her as having been written without his permission. He accompanied this insult with an official letter, by which he prohibited us, for the future, from all written or even verbal communication

with the inhabitants, without submitting it to his approbation; and what is particularly absurd and incredible, is, that he imposed this restriction on our intercourse with people whom he nevertheless permits us to visit at our own pleasure. He accompanied the publication of the act relating to us with commentaries which spread terror amongst the inhabitants; he complains of the excessive expense of the Emperor's table, and insists on great reductions.—It had not been understood that General Bonaparte would have so many people about him. Ministers, he told us ingenuously, had never doubted but that the permission they had sent us to go away, would have induced us to quit the Emperor. All this shuffling produced an exchange of pretty sharp notes. To one of the Governor's communications, in which he said, that if the restrictions imposed on us seemed to us too hard, we might relieve ourselves from them by going away, the Emperor himself dictated the following addition to the answer we had already written:—"That having been ho-"noured by him during his prosperity, we consi-"dered it our chief pleasure to serve him, now that "he could do nothing for us; and if there were "persons to whom this conduct was incomprehen-"sible, so much the worse for them."

New vexations.—The Emperor seldom stirs out.—Tristan.—Lafontaine's Fables.—The belly rules the world.—Difficulty of judging of men.

Tuesday 9th to Thursday 11th.—The Governor continues to annoy us, and is incessantly aggravating the misery of our situation. He seems resolved to place us in close confinement. He has published a proclamation in town, ordering that all letters and notes addressed by us to the inhabitants, on any occasion whatever, shall be sent to him within twenty-four hours. He has also forbidden them to visit the Grand Marshal and his wife, who live at the entrance of our enclosure. In the beginning of this blockade of Madame Bertrand, it was so rigorously enforced, that some medicines sent hence by the doctor, for one of the Grand Marshal's people who was dying, could not be delivered; and it was only by way of accommodation that the officer at last took upon him to let them pass over the wall.

The Governor having read in a letter sent by one of us to Europe, that the writer wanted several articles of clothing, linen, &c. came and told him that he might have most of those articles out of the stores sent by Government for Napoleon: and the individual replying that he preferred purchasing them, being unwilling to incur any obligation; the Governor drily answered, that he might pay for them if he had a fancy to do so. To which the other replied, "Excuse me, Sir, I

"like to choose my shops myself." In consequence of this, the Governor afterwards sent him word by the Doctor, that he should complain of him, for having *contemptuously* refused the gifts of Government. The other instantly replied that he should be much obliged to him; being much happier to give him an opportunity of transmitting refusals, than requests, to the ministers he served.

All these petty tricks, the length and interest of our readings, and the continuance of the bad weather, which is dreadful, increase the Emperor's confinement to the house, and affect him with melancholy: he now never stirs abroad. His amusement is now confined to going occasionally, about five o'clock, to visit Madame de Montholon, who has not yet gone abroad since her lying-in. We all meet there, and the Emperor converses for half an hour, or three-quarters before he returns to his own apartment.

To-day he met little Tristan, the eldest son of M. de Montholon, who is only seven or eight years old, and runs about all day. The Emperor placed him between his two knees, and tried to make him recite some fables, of which the poor child did not understand two words out of ten. The Emperor laughed heartily, blaming the practice of putting La Fontaine into the hands of children who cannot understand him; and began to explain these fables to Tristan; endeavouring

to render their meaning more palpable to him; nor could any thing be more curious than the simplicity, justice, and logic of his illustrations.

Whilst he was explaining the fable of the wolf and the lamb, it was extremely laughable to hear the poor child say, *Sire*, and *your Majesty*, and in speaking of the wolf, and to the Emperor, confuse all his expressions; whilst his ideas were probably in still greater confusion.

The Emperor thought this fable had far too much irony in it to be within the comprehension of children. It was likewise defective, he observed, in its principle and its moral; and this was the first time that he had been struck with these defects. It was false that the argument of the stronger was always the best; and if it sometimes happened so, in fact, that, he said, was the very evil, the abuse, that was to be condemned. The wolf, ought, therefore, to have been strangled in devouring the lamb, &c.

Tristan is very idle. He confessed to the Emperor that he did not work every day. "Do you "not eat every day?" said the Emperor to him, "Yes, Sire." "Well, then, you ought to work "every day; no one should eat who does not "work." "Oh! if that be the case, I will work "every day," said the child, quickly. "Such "is the influence of the belly," said the Emperor, tapping that of little Tristan. "It is "hunger that makes the world move. Come my

"little man, if you are a good boy, we'll make a "page of you." "But I won't be one," said Tristan, pouting and looking angry.

Our afternoons were occupied in some piece of reading, selected in hopes of enabling us to kill an hour or two of time. At this period we were reading a voyage to Spitzbergen; the shipwreck of the Dutch at Nova Zembla; the celebrated Causes; the trial of Calas; those of Martinguerre, and the Marchioness of Brinvilliers. The author observed, in some part of the work, that the face often gave a false idea of the character. The Emperor paused, laid down the book, and said with a look and tone that denoted conviction; "It is most true, and it is also "true that no study will enable us to avoid this "deception. How many proofs of this kind have "I had! For instance, I had a person about me; "his countenance undoubtedly . . . . But "after all he had a mischievous eye; I ought to "have guessed something from that." He then went into some particulars of the character of the person in question. They had known each other from infancy, he said; he had long placed his entire confidence in this individual, who had talent and resources; the Emperor even thought that he had been attached and faithful—"But he "was much too covetous," said he, "he was too "fond of money. When I was dictating to him, "and he sometimes had to write *millions*, it was

"never without a peculiar change of counte-
"nance, a licking of his lips, and restlessness on
"his chair, which several times induced me to
"ask what ailed him."

The Emperor said this vice was too glaring to allow of his retaining this person about him. But that considering his other qualities, he ought, perhaps, to have contented himself with removing him into a different situation.

The Iron Mask, &c.—Ingenious Fiction.

Friday 12.—The conversation to-day led us to speak of the iron mask, and we took a review of what has been said on the subject by Voltaire, Dutens, and others; and of what is found respecting him in Richelieu's Memoirs. In these it is well known that he is said to have been the twin-brother of Louis XIV., and the elder of the two. On this occasion some one added, that being employed in making out a pedigree, a person had come to him to demonstrate seriously to him that Napoleon was a lineal descendant from this iron mask, and consequently the legitimate heir of Louis XIII. and Henry IV. in preference to Louis XIV. and all his issue. The Emperor also said that he had heard something about it, and added, that the credulity of mankind, and their love of the marvellous are so great, that it would not have been difficult to make out and substantiate something of the kind for the multitude,

and that there would not have been wanting certain persons in the Senate to sanction it; probably, he observed, the very men who at a later period were so eager to revile him, as soon as they saw him in adversity.

We then went on to trace the foundation and the progress of this story. The name of the Governor of the island of St. Marguerite, to whom the custody of the iron mask was entrusted, was M. de Bonpart, a circumstance, to begin with, very singular. This man, it was asserted, was aware of the origin of his prisoner. He had a daughter; she and the prisoner were both young; they saw each other and loved. The Governor having informed the Court of this circumstance, it was decided that there was no great objection to allowing the unfortunate captive to seek in love an alleviation of his misery, and they were married.

The person who was speaking at this moment said, that at the time the above particulars were related to him, he had been very much entertained by them, and had happened to say, that he thought the story very ingeniously imagined; upon which the narrator of it had become excessively angry, maintaining that the marriage could very easily be verified by the registers of one of the parishes of Marseilles, which he named. He added, that the children born of this marriage were silently and secretly conveyed to Corsica, where the dif-

ference of language, chance, or perhaps intention, had changed the name of Bonpart into Bomparte and Buonaparte, which, after all, has the same meaning, and is in fact the same thing.

After this anecdote it was added, that at the time of the revolution a similar story had been made in favour of the Orleans branch. It was founded in a document found in the Bastille, and surmised that Ann of Austria, who was brought to bed after twenty-three years of sterility, had been delivered of a girl, and that Louis XIII. fearing she might have no more children, had been induced to put away that girl and falsely to substitute in her stead a boy which was Louis XIV.; that the following year, however, the Queen had been again brought to bed, and this time really of a boy, which boy was Philip, the head of the house of Orleans, who thus turned out to be with his descendants the legitimate heirs to the throne, whilst Louis XIV. and his issue were only intruders and usurpers. According to that story the iron mask was a girl. A pamphlet on this subject was circulated in the provinces at the time the Bastille was taken, but the story did not gain credit, and very quietly disappeared, without having, it seems, engaged the attention of the capital even for a moment.

Junot, his Wife, &c.

Saturday 13th.—The conversation again fell upon Junot. Of the considerable fortunes which the Emperor had bestowed, that of Junot, he said, was one of the most extravagant. The sums he had given him almost exceeded belief, and yet he was always in debt; he had squandered treasures without credit to himself, without discernment or taste, and, too frequently, the Emperor added, in gross debauchery.

He has been seen more than once after having taken a most copious and substantial breakfast, in his magnificent *hotel* at Paris, fired with anger at the most trifling demand made by the most insignificant creditor, to threaten to liquidate the debt with his sword. Every time he saw the Emperor, said Napoleon, it was to hint at some fresh embarrassment, be reprimanded and assisted. In the campaign of Austerlitz, he came to the Emperor at Schoenbrun; but this time, said Napoleon, it was not to intercede precisely for himself. He took at this period a most lively interest in the beautiful Madame Recamier. He had just arrived from Paris, and began his conversation with the Emperor by a most virulent philippic against M. de Marbois, then Minister of the Treasury, who had been base enough, he said, to refuse M. Recamier, a loan of only two mil-

lions, to save him from bankruptcy. All Paris was indignant. This Marbois, he added, was a wicked man, an unworthy servant, who did not love the Emperor. He, Junot, had gone to him and had used every endeavour to persuade him, but to no purpose. He had represented to him the enormity of his conduct, and had assured him, (and such added Junot was the general opinion in Paris,) that if the Emperor had been in the capital he would have immediately ordered the money to be given to M. Recamier. He was on a wrong scent, said the Emperor, for I coolly replied to this passionate lover who was almost out of his senses; "You "and Paris are both mistaken, I should not have "ordered even two thousand *sous* to be given; and "I should have been very much displeased with "De Marbois if he had acted otherwise than he "has done. *I* am not Madame Recamier's lover, "and I do not come forward to the assistance of "merchants who keep up an establishment of six "hundred thousands francs, per annum. Know "that, M. Junot, and learn also, that the Trea-"sury does not lend money to those whom it "knows to have been long since on the road to "bankruptcy; it has other claims to satisfy. "Junot," added the Emperor, "was obliged to "calm his emotion, thinking probably that there "were hard-hearted people at Vienna as well as "at Paris."

Junot travelled as fast as the Emperor himself; he had his inn-relays, said Napoleon, hundreds of horses, and other extravagances of the kind.

The Emperor added, that, not so much in his capacity as sovereign, but as being fond of Junot, and actuated also by a sort of feeling derived from the similarity of birth-place, he being also originally from Corsica, he had one day sent for Madame Junot in order to give her some paternal admonitions on the subject of the extravagance of her husband's expenditure, the profusion of diamonds which she herself had inconsiderately displayed after her return from Portugal, and her intimate connections with a certain foreigner, which might give umbrage in a political point of view, &c. &c. But she rejected this advice, dictated alone by concern for her interest. "She "grew angry," said the Emperor, "and treated "me like a child; nothing then remained for me "to do, but to send her about her business, and "abandon her to her fate. She fancied herself a "princess of the family of the Commenes; and "Junot had been made to believe it when he "was induced to marry her. Her family was "from Corsica, and resided in the neighbourhood "of mine; they were under great obligations "to my mother, not merely for her benevolence "towards them, but for services of a more po-"sitive nature." The Emperor then gave the following explanation:

"The Genoese, in evacuating the Morea, "had formerly carried a colony of Muniotes to "Corsica and settled them in the neighbourhood "of Ajaccio. M. de Vergennes, while he was "ambassador at Constantinople, married a Greek "woman; and on his return to France, being "greatly in favour with Louis XVI. he took it "into his head that he must have married a "princess. It so happened that some political "circumstances occurred to favour his wish; the "downfal of Constantinople was believed in at "that moment, and it would have suited France "to advance some pretentions to a portion of "that empire. A man of the name of Cummene, "a relation of Madame de Vergennes, was there-"fore sent for from the Greek colony near Ajaccio, "and having been brought to Versailles was soon "after by virtue of letters patent of Louis XVI. "acknowledged a descendant from the emperors "of Constantinople. This said Commene was a "good farmer, whose sister had unexpectedly "married, some years before, a Frenchman, a "clerk in the victualling department named P—. "After the elevation of the family, and through "the interest of M. de Vergennes, this P—, clerk "in the victualling department, had become a "man of great consequence, having had the con-"tract for supplying the whole army of Rocham-"beau. The daughter of the clerk was this very "Madame Junot, duchess of Abrantes.

"Junot in the campaign of Russia gave me "great cause of dissatisfaction," said the Emperor; "he was no longer the same man, and "committed some great errors which cost us "dear."

After the return from Moscow, Junot in consequence of the dissatisfaction he had given, lost the governorship of Paris; and the Emperor sent him to Venice. However that species of disgrace was almost immediately softened, by his appointment as governor-general of Illyria; but the blow was struck. The frequent incoherences which had been observed in Junot's behaviour for some time past, and which had arisen from the excesses in which he had indulged, broke out at last into complete insanity. They were obliged to seize him, and convey him home to his paternal mansion, where he died miserably shortly after, having mutilated his person with his own hands. . . .

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Marshal Lannes.—Murat and his Wife, &c.

Sunday 14th.—During the dinner, speaking of dress, it was said that amongst the number of great personages of that time, none had carried the *ridicule* in that point further than Murat, and yet, some one observed, his dress was for the most part so singular and fantastic that the public called him king Franconi.*

* Director of a theatre at Paris similar to Astley's here.

The Emperor laughed very heartily, and confessed that certain costumes and manners sometimes gave to Murat the appearance of a quack operator or a mountebank. It was added, that Bernadotte also took infinite pains with his dress, and that Lannes bestowed much time upon his. The Emperor expressed himself much surprised at what he heard respecting the two latter, and this led him to repeat how sincerely he regretted the loss of Marshal Lannes; "Poor Lannes," said he, "had passed the night which preceded "the battle, in Vienna, and not alone. He ap- "peared on the field without having taken any "food, and fought the whole day. The physician "said that this triple concurrence of circum- "stances caused his death, he required a great "deal of strength after the wound to enable him "to bear it, and unfortunately nature was almost "exhausted before.

"It is generally said," the Emperor observed, "that there are certain wounds, to which death "seems preferable; but this is very seldom the "case, I assure you. It is at the moment we are "going to part with existence that we cling to "it with all our might. Lannes, the most cou- "rageous of men, deprived of both his legs, would "not hear of death, and was irritated to that "degree, that he declared that the two surgeons "who attended him, deserved to be hanged for "behaving so brutally towards a Marshal. He

" had unfortunately over-heard them whisper " to each other, as they thought without being " heard, that it was impossible he could escape. " Every moment the unfortunate Lannes called " for the Emperor; he twined himself round me," said Napoleon, " with all he had left of life; he " would hear of no one but me, he thought but " of me, it was a kind of instinct! Undoubtedly " he loved his wife and children better than me; " yet he did not speak of them: it was he that " protected them, whilst I on the contrary was " his protector. I was for him something vague " and undefined, a superior being, his providence, " which he implored!" . . . . . .

Somebody then observed, that the world had spoken very differently on the subject; that it had been reported that Lannes had died like a maniac, vociferating imprecations against the Emperor, at whom he seemed enraged; and it was added, that he had always had an aversion to the Emperor, and had often manifested it to him with insolence. " What an absurdity," said the Emperor, " Lannes on the contrary adored me. He " was assuredly one of the men on whom I could " most implicitly rely. It is very true that in the " impetuosity of his disposition he has some- " times suffered some hasty expressions against " me to escape his lips, but he would probably " have broken the head of any person who had " chanced to hear them."

Returning to Murat, some one observed that he had greatly influenced the unfortunate events of 1814. "He determined them," said the Emperor, "he is one of the principal causes of our "being here. But the fault is originally mine. "There were several men whom I had made too "great, I had raised them above the sphere of "their intelligence. I was reading, some days "since, his proclamation on abandoning the Vice-"roy, which I had not seen before. It is diffi-"cult to conceive any thing disgraced by a "greater degree of turpitude: he says in that "document that the moment is come to choose "between two banners; that of crime, or that of "virtue. It is my banner which he calls the "banner of crime! and it is Murat, my creature, "the husband of my sister, the man who owed "every thing to me, who would have been nothing "without me, who exists by me, and is known "through me alone—it is Murat who writes this! "It is impossible to desert the cause of misfor-"tune with more unfeeling brutality, and to run "with more unblushing baseness to hail a new "destiny."

From that moment, Madame (mother of the Emperor) refused to have any thing more to do with either Murat or his wife; to all their entreaties she invariably answered, that she held traitors and treachery in abhorrence. As soon as she was at Rome, after the disasters of 1814,

Murat hastened to send her eight magnificent horses out of his stables at Naples; but Madame would not accept them. She resisted in like manner every effort of her daughter Caroline, who constantly repeated that, after all, the fault was not hers; that she had no share in it; that she could not command her husband. But Madam answered, like Clytemnestra,—"If you "could not command him, you ought at least to "have opposed him:—but what struggles have "you made? what blood has flowed? At the "expense of your own life you ought to have "defended your brother, your benefactor, your "master, against the sanguinary attempts of your "husband."

"On my return from Elba," said the Emperor, "Murat's head was turned on hearing that I had "landed in France. The first intelligence he re- "ceived of this event informed him that I was at "Lyons. He was accustomed to my great re- "turns of fortune; he had more than once seen me "placed in most extraordinary circumstances. On "this occasion he thought me already master of all "Europe, and determined to endeavour to wrest "Italy from me; for that was his object, the aim "of all his hopes. It was in vain that some men "of the greatest influence amongst the nations "which he attempted to excite to rebellion, threw "themselves at his feet and assured him that "he was mistaken; that the Italians had a king

" on whom alone they had bestowed their love " and their esteem. Nothing could stop him; " he lost himself, and contributed to lose us " a second time; for Austria, supposing that " he was acting at my instigation, would not " believe my professions, and mistrusted me. " Murat's unfortunate end corresponds with his " conduct. Murat was endowed with extraor- " dinary courage, and little intelligence. The too " great disproportion between those two qua- " lifications explains the man entirely. It was " difficult, even impossible, to be more courageous " than Murat and Lannes; but Murat had re- " mained courageous and nothing more. The " mind of Lannes, on the contrary, had risen to " the level of his courage; he had become a giant. " However," said the Emperor, in ending the conversation, " the execution of Murat is never- " theless horrible. It is an event in the history " of the morals of Europe; an infraction of the " rules of public decorum.—A king has caused " another king, acknowledged by all the others, " to be shot! What a spell he has broken! . . .

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THE SUMMARY OF THE THREE MONTHS OF APRIL, MAY, AND JUNE.

I have already observed, that, in a work like the present, it is impossible to keep up in any point a unity of interest and of object; I shall, therefore, now attempt to supply this defect by retracing, in a very few words, and uninterruptedly, the circumstances of aggravation which have occurred in the Emperor's situation during these three months; the repeated instances of bad treatment to which he has been subjected; the visible decline of his health, the general tenor of his habits, the principal topics of his conversation;—in a word, the bulletin, both physical and moral, of his person, during that short space of time.

1st. A new Governor arrives, who turns out to be a man of either very narrow views, or very bad intentions—a corporal with his watch-word, instead of a general with his instructions.

2dly. A declaration is required from every one of the captives, that he submits beforehand to all the restrictions that may be imposed on Napoleon, and this in the hopes of detaching them from his person.

3dly. An official communication is made to us of the convention of the allied Sovereigns, who, without further ceremony, proclaim and consecrate the banishment of Napoleon.

4thly. We receive the bill of the British Parliament, which converts into a law the act of oppression of the English ministers towards the person of Napoleon.

5thly. Lastly, Commissioners come in the name of their Sovereigns, to watch over the fetters, and contemplate the sufferings of the victim. Thus our horizon grows darker and darker, our chains are shortened, all hopes of amelioration vanish, and the most gloomy prospects are all that the future presents.

The arrival of the new Governor is the signal for the infliction of greater hardships. For the person of the Emperor it is the commencement of a new series of torments; every day he is wounded by the recurrence of some petty vexation.

The first step of Sir Hudson Lowe is an *insult;* his first word one *of cruelty;* one of his first acts, an act of inhumanity.

After that, he seems to have no other occupation, to have received no other instruction, than to torment us and make us suffer under every shape, on every occasion, and in every way.

The Emperor, who had at first resolved to adopt a system of strict Stoicism, is nevertheless moved with indignation at this conduct, and expresses himself in strong terms. Conversations grow warm; the breach is made; it will grow wider every day.

The Emperor's health is visibly affected, and

we can observe a rapid alteration. Contrary to his natural temperament, he very frequently feels indisposed; on one occasion he is confined to his room for six days running, without going out in the least. A secret melancholy, which endeavours to conceal itself from every eye, and perhaps from his own, begins to take possession of him; the latent seeds of disease appear already to be lurking in his system. He contracts every day the circle, already so confined, of his movements and his diversions. He gives up riding on horseback; he no longer invites any Englishmen to dinner,—he even abandons his daily occupations. The dictations in which he had hitherto seemed to take pleasure, are at a stand. Disgust had seized him, he would sometimes say to me, and he could not muster courage enough to resume them. The greatest part of his days is past in turning over some books in his own apartment, or in conversing with us either publicly or in private; and in the evening, after his dinner, he reads to us some plays of our great poets, or any other work which chance or the choice of the moment brings to his hand.

Yet the serenity of his mind, the equanimity of his disposition towards us are not in the least impaired; on the contrary, we seem more united like one family. He is more ours, and we belong more to him; his conversations offer a greater degree of confidence, effusion, and interest.

He would now often send for me in his room, to converse with him; and these private conversations would sometimes lead him to subjects of great importance,—such as the war in Russia, that of Spain, the conferences of Tilsit and Erfurth, which will be found at that period of my Memoirs. And I must here make or repeat some observations, which I beg my readers will not lose sight of throughout this work, as they will serve to anticipate any reproaches or objections that might be suggested by the want of order, the scantiness and the imperfection observable in the relation of objects of so much importance.

The fact is, if I have not already said it, that, when conversing with the Emperor, either publicly or in private, I have never taken the liberty of making any observation, or of asking any explanation, even when they have appeared to me to be the most necessary; and this reserve I considered to be imposed upon me,

1st. By respect and decorum.

2d. By the fear of interrupting conversations always interesting and important.

3d. By the hope of seizing truth, as it were, on its passage, and thus catching its expression more naturally.

4th. By the persuasion which I entertained that I was henceforward resident and for ever near the person of the Emperor, and the certainty which I derived from this circumstance of hearing

the same things again repeated in course of time, which would afford me opportunities of rendering them more exact and more complete.

5th. Because the Emperor himself was some day to have seen my journal, and I felt assured, that, encouraged by what he would already find in its pages on those various points, he would make them the subject of regular dictations; but unfortunately I have been deprived of this advantage,—and what information have we not lost thereby!

6th. Lastly, and this has been one of my principal reasons, because the Emperor, being sometimes led, in the course of a long and quite familiar conversation, to touch upon subjects of the highest importance, did not relate them with a view to inform me, but most frequently merely to kill time, or for the sake of talking, and it might be added, of tautology, if such an expression could be used when applied to such a person and to such objects. He conversed with me on those topics as if I ought to have been as familiar with them as he was himself.

But I was a total stranger to these vast plans and these high conceptions, a circumstance however which I have convinced myself to have been also common to many of those who at the time of his power were nearest to his person, ay, even to his ministers; it therefore frequently happened

to him to say, on perceiving the considerable degree of surprise which the expression of my countenance betrayed, or perhaps on suddenly recollecting himself and knowing the state of the case; "But, perhaps, this is new to you?" To which the best reply I could make, in order to be true, was "Yes, Sire it is, and for the most part, "new altogether." How could I then on occasions of such inestimable value, go and aukwardly interrupt him to inform him that I found it difficult to follow him, or to understand him? By so doing I should most assuredly have displeased him, and rendered him unwilling to speak for the future, which would have been a great loss to me. I therefore let him go on, however I might sometimes wish for an explanation; and whatever I could collect in this first conversation appeared to me already of infinite value. I was aware that the Emperor was in the habit of frequently repeating the same things, and I flattered myself that I should learn more on other occasions, and that I should thus become sufficiently master of the subject, to be able at some future period to take the liberty of discussing it a little with him; a liberty which his goodness towards me during the latter part of the time I was with him would have condescended to allow me; and which would ever, I am sure, have been agreeable to him, as it would have awakened his ideas and

supplied new aliment to his conversation. But unfortunately my sudden and unexpected removal from his person has only left me the materials which I had collected up to that moment; and to the sorrow which I feel at having been torn from the exercise of those pious cares which had become the source of my happiness, will be now added eternal regret at having, perhaps, by my too great reserve, lost for History an opportunity which can never occur again.

I have been desirous of entering rather minutely into the above particulars, in order that it might be understood in what manner I have obtained a portion of these Memoirs, and that every reader might answer to himself why objects of such paramount importance have been presented in so imperfect a state.

However, if the future historian does not find in these pages the light which he seeks for, and which he might expect to find, frequent sparks will however arrest his attention, and invariably lead him into the right path; and from this particular circumstance I shall characterise my own work by saying, that it contains something of *every thing*, yet *nothing*; that there is *nothing*, and yet *every thing* in it. But in saying that there is *nothing* in it, I am assuredly mistaken, for it contains innumerable *traits* of the individual qualifications, the natural dispositions, the heart and the mind, of the extraordinary being to whom it

is consecrated; so that it will be henceforward impossible for any man of unprejudiced mind, who seeks honestly for the truth, not to be able to fix his opinion upon his character; and I beg the reader to recollect that such has been the only object I have had in view, the only one I have professed to fulfil.

Omission, p. 239, after line 24.—"I wish to raise the glory "of the French name to such a pitch as to make it the envy "of all nations. I will, with God's help, bring it to pass, "that in whatever part of Europe a Frenchman may travel, he "shall alway find himself at home."

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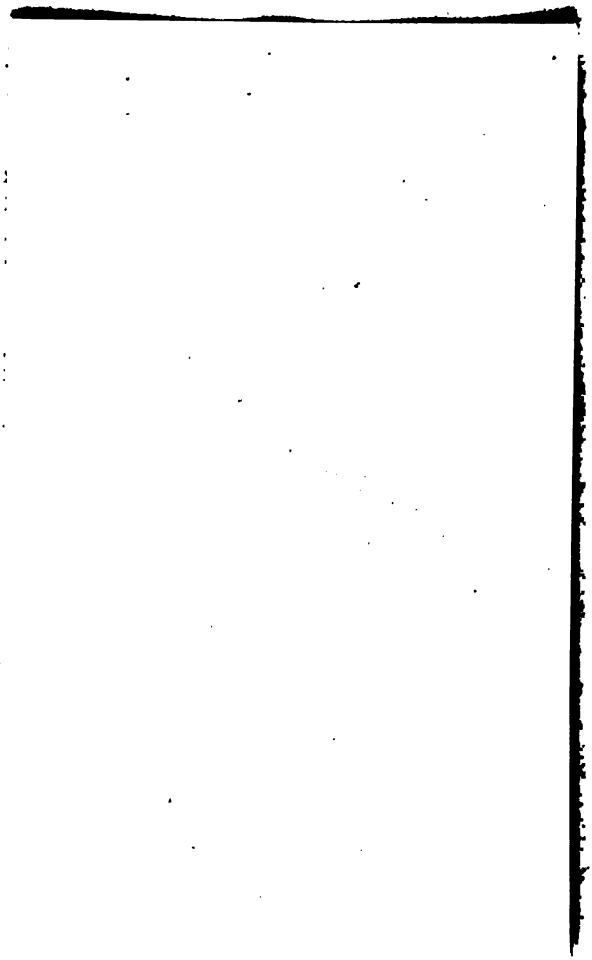
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